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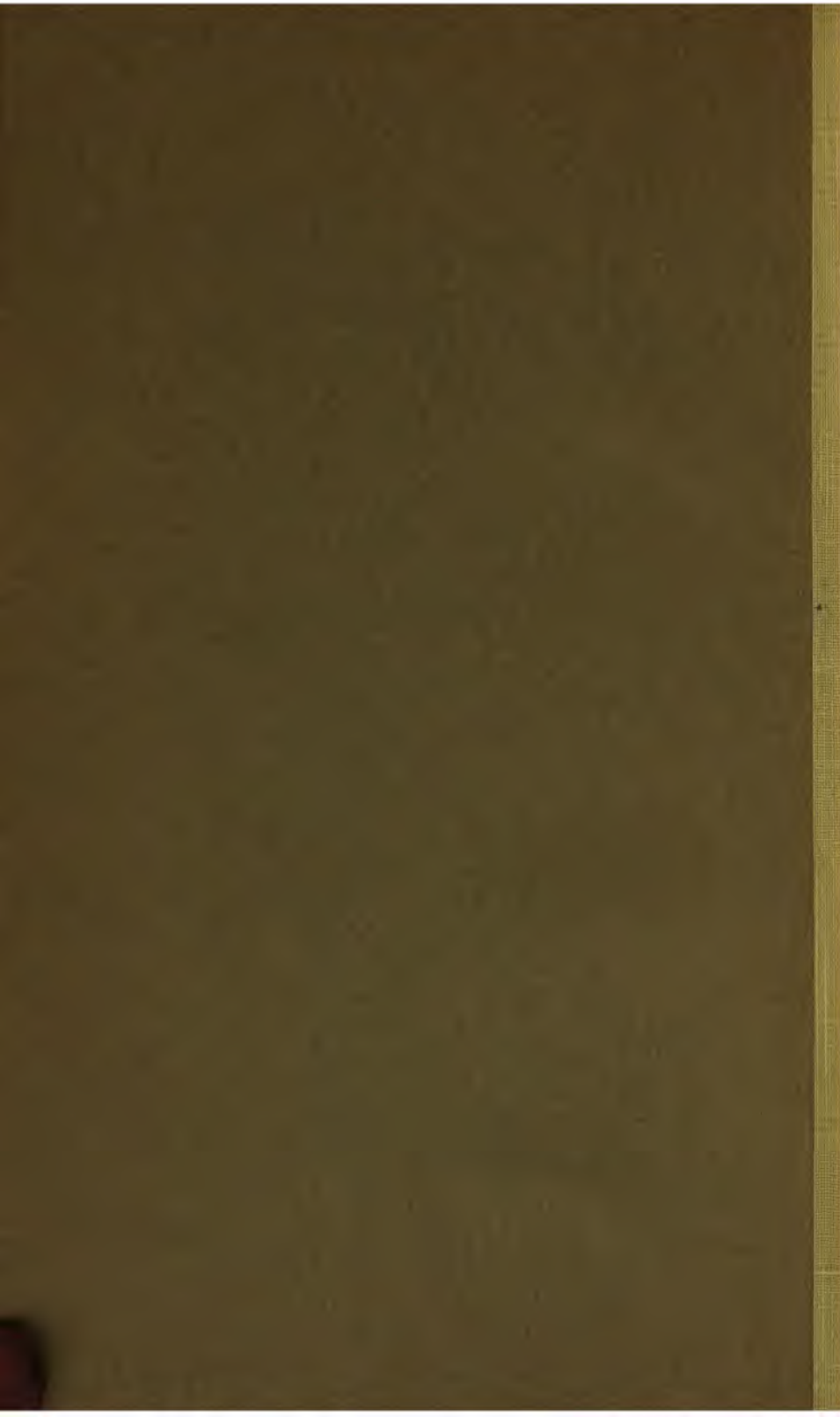
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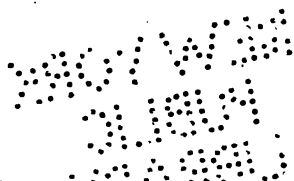
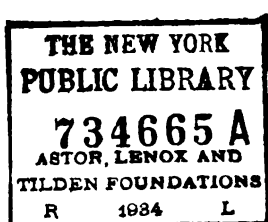
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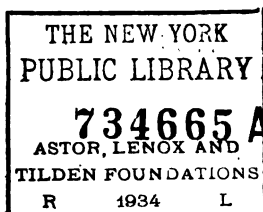
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E R R A T A .

<i>Page</i>	33,	<i>line</i>	12,	<i>pd̄cō should be</i>	<i>pd̄cs.</i>
„	34,	„	5,	<i>pd̄s</i>	„ <i>pd̄o.</i>
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„	41,	„	3,	<i>omit abbreviation after placuit.</i>	
„	42,	„	8,	<i>hūt should be</i>	<i>hūc.</i>
„	48,	„	18,	<i>dño</i>	„ <i>dñs.</i>
„	„	„	23,	<i>civis</i>	„ <i>cives.</i>
„	51,	„	19,	<i>quamdā</i>	„ <i>quandā.</i>
„	57,	„	15,	<i>vellet</i>	„ <i>vellēt.</i>
„	84,	„	11,	<i>infortinū</i>	„ <i>infortunī.</i>

* * * *Owing to a hasty revision of the proof of pp. 32 et seq., several printer's errors, and especially misplacing of abbreviation marks, were passed. The above are the worst.*



Norwich Apprentices and Workmen's Tools

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE LATE

JOHN L'ESTRANGE.

THERE is a paper volume in the Muniment Room of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Norwich, the greater part of which is occupied with enrolments of Apprenticeship Indentures from 1548 to 1562, in all about 776 in number. Its title is as follows: "Irrotulamenta
"Indenturarum omnium apprenticiorum cujuscunque arti-
"ficij infra Civitatem Norwici existeñ. Inchoat secundum
"formam et effectum cujusdam Acti nuper facti et concessi
"per totam congregacionem Civitatis predictę tenē in
"Guilhalda ibidem die veneris decimo Tercio videlicet die
"mensis Julij Anno Regni Serenissimi domini nostri
"Edwardi Sexti dei gratia secundo Tempore venerabilis
"viri Edmundi Woode Maioris Civitatis antedecē primo."

These enrolments were made in consequence of an Act of Assembly passed in 1548, and are succinct abstracts of the original indentures. In one case, however, an indenture of apprenticeship between Simon Crabbe the

elder and Simon Crabbe his son, an abstract of which had been enrolled after the usual fashion in April, 1558, was enrolled at length in May, 1559, by his executor, and the two enrolments are printed in the Appendix to these Notes. The covenants of the apprenticeship bear a strong general likeness to those contained in the form supplied at the present day by Her Majesty's Commissioners of Stamps. But there are many very remarkable features of difference.

Premiums which are paid to-day with probably one out of every two boys were in those days almost unknown, and I met with few instances of them; in one of which the apprentice covenanted that his master might receive annually half the rent of certain property in Crownthorpe, but at the expiration of the term the master had to pay £3 to the apprentice. In another instance, the father bound himself to deliver to the master annually for six years, between Michaelmas and Hallowmas, 6s. 8d. worth of butter and cheese. But in this case as well, the master had to pay the apprentice the 40s. at the end of his term, and this seems to have been the invariable arrangement. If premiums were rare, wages, on the other hand, were almost as rare. In the majority of cases none were paid, but one or two instances occur. An apprentice to a worsted weaver was to be paid 8s. a year quarterly; another, at the end of the seventh and eighth years, was to receive 13s. 4d., and at the end of the ninth year, 26s. 8d.; and apparently in every case the one apprentice was to receive 1d. weekly. Masters found board and lodgings for their apprentices, and covenanted at the end of the term to pay them sometimes so much money, or to deliver to them certain of the tools used in their trade; and sometimes both money and tools, or their choice of either, and generally double apparel,—a suit for holidays, and another for working days.

The terms of apprenticeship in those days never appear

to have been less than, and frequently to have exceeded, seven years. Eight-year terms were common, and instances of terms of nine, ten, eleven, and even twelve years occur.

In some cases, at the expiration of the apprenticeship, "a year of covenant" was added, for which a salary was paid. Occasionally this year of covenant was left to the option of the apprentice. In one or two instances it was provided that if the master died the apprentice might be free on payment of 10s. to the master's executor; in another case the apprentice was to be free if his master's widow remarried.

The great number of holidays in those times may account for holidays being seldom mentioned in these indentures, but there are instances in which they are provided for: in one case six days at Whitsuntide, in others a month or two at harvest, during which time they might earn what they pleased for themselves. A worsted weaver covenants to have his apprentice taught reading and writing two harvest seasons. A mercer covenants to send his apprentice to France for a year to learn the language, and a grocer to send his apprentice for a year to Flanders to be sufficiently taught to speak Dutch. Some masters covenant to make at their own cost their apprentices at the end of their term freemen of the city of Norwich, others to make them free of the fellowships of the Merchant Adventurers in the parts beyond the seas called the Old Hawnce, or the Merchant Strangers or the New Hance. A worsted weaver, to send his apprentice to a writing school for two months, one in the seventh and one in the eighth years. A grocer, to find his apprentice two years to Grammar School, to teach him grocers' craft and to hold courts, and to write and make accounts, and to deliver him £20 at end of the term.

The science of a scrivener was writing, reading, and understanding all manner of evidence.

A grocer covenants with his apprentice that he may occupy to his own use all money given him by his friends;

and a barber, that his apprentice might enjoy to his own use all such favours and courtesies as shall be given him during his apprenticeship.

As a matter of course a collection of so many numerous documents of any class could not fail to throw considerable light on personal and local history; but that now before us gives an insight into the life and very many glimpses of the habits and customs of our ancestors.

The following Extracts from the Enrolments give the considerations to the apprentices, and especially the tools which they were to have given them by their masters at the end of their terms.

BARBER.

1. Apprentice to enjoy to his own use all such favours & courtesyes as shall be given him during apptyceship.
2. To receive five shaving knyffes.
3. Master to buy his apprentyce free Citizen of Norwich.
4. 8 years and a year of covenant.
5. Apprentice to receive a bason an ewer a case w^t 4 knives a combe and a payer of Syssers.
6. A bason a shaven cloth a barbers case & iiij Rasors mete for the occupacon.
7. 8 years. A latten bason a latten ewer ij shaving clothes a bagge w^t ij knyves.
8. 7 years. A bason a ewer a casse of knyffes apt & meate for the seid crafte.
9. A bason a ewer a case w^t three knives a peir of sysers a thone & ij shaving cloths.
10. A case w^t iiij knives called rasers a bagge of barbers knives.
11. A case called a barbors casse w^t the knyves & other toolys.

BLACKSMITH.

1. A hammer a paring knyfe a payer of pinsens a butter a handhammer and a forehammer.
2. One buttre a peir of prynsens a shoeing hamer.
3. A hamer a payer of pyncors a buttol and a handsawe.

BRICKLAYER.

Nine years. A hamer axe a trowell a bryckaxe a square & a compass.

BUCHER.

One axe a clyver & a bochers knife.

CARPENTER.

1. A joyntor a chesyll a fermer iij imboweng planes a handsaw a hatchet twoo wymbles a handplane a stapler hoke a pser.
2. A belte a handsawe a cutting sawe a square a plume rule a levell three wimbles a former a chisell 4 planes a hammer a pser & 20s.
3. A handsawe a belt a former a handplane a hedyng tole and six days holiday at Whitsuntide to see his friends.
4. A belt a handsawe iij wymbles of iij sundry sorts a formⁿ a hedyng knife a chisell a cutting sawe and a seware of yron a hammer a pser and a plane wth an yron.
5. One belt a cutting sawe a hand sawe a former a beating toole and a headyng toole.
6. 6s. 8d. a yr & 13s. 4d. A mortas wymble a fote wymble too draft wymbles too lyttle wymbles a former a chesyll a belt a hatchytt a joynter a fore lopper a hand plane a little hand sawe a passer a wrest a fyle too payer of compas & a squyer or ells vijs. iiijd. in

consyderacyon of the same toolys at the choyse of the seid Robert pvyded allweys & it is agreed betwyn the seyde pties that yf the seyde Robt. shall depte this life before thende of the seyde tearme That then the seyde John his executors or Ass shall within one month next after the decease of the seyde Robart delyver or cause to be delyvered to Margaret mother of the seyde Robart all the seyde toolys or ells to paye to the seyde Margaret the seyde some of vijs. iiijd. of good English money in consyderacyon of the same toolys at the choyse of the seyde Margaret, &c.

CARPENTER, JOYNER, AND TURNER.

8 yrs. At thend of the seid tearme to gyve to the seid Andrew A belt a handsawe ij wymbles a chysell a former and doble apparell.

CARVER AND JOYNER.

1. Two dozen of carvyn tolls & pte of all other tools.
2. 2 doz. carving toles & pte of all other toles.

COWPER.

1. A barge an adds a hedyngge knyff a joynter a clyver a howle a peyr of compass.
2. A thixtell a psour a Shave a knape a Joynter a Barge axe a spoke shave & 40s.
3. A barge a howell, a joynter a heding knife, a pair of compass, a froward and a pser.
4. A thyxtell a shave a Axe a pser & 200 hoopys of knytt ware & Nayle ware.
5. A barge axe a Thixtell a howell Crowe purser a payer of compass a headyng knyfe.

6. 6s. 8d. during term 20 at Mids. 20 at Mich. 200 hoopes,
i.e., 50 payle hoopes & di⁹ barrell hoopes 150 barrell
hoopes.

CORDWAYNER.

1. If master died the apprentice paid 10s. to the executor
to be free.
2. To serve for one hole year, called a year of Covenant.
At his election to go away at end of seven years.

COVERLET AND DORNEX WEAVER.

1. A pair of canvas shets.
2. To give at end of eight years 20s. & a coverlet 10 qrs.
long & 7 qrs. broad.
3. A coverlet price 3s. 4d. or 3s. 4d.
4. A dornex lome & all belonging to it.

FLETCHER..

ij knyves a plane iiij shaves a peir of sherys & 8s.

FRESH WATER FISHER.

A newe boate pryce 26s. 8d. or the money A new buskyng
nette pryce 10s. a fowlyng nett & a fowling line the
best that he shall have.

GROCER.

1. 7 years. The master shall find his apprentice for one
year within the said terme in Flanders to be suf-
feciently taught to speke Duche & make him free of
the Old Haunce. To serve one year longer to be
p^d 5 mks. board & to be allowed to occupy to his
own use all money given by his friend.
2. 8 years. To make him a free citezen of Norwich.

3. To a man & his wife. 9 years and a year of covenant £5 wages.
4. 8 years. To find him 2 years to Grammar school. To teach him grocers craft. To hold Courts & to write & make accounts & to deliver to him at end of terme £20 & doble apparell & to serve a year longer for board & lodging & 40s.
5. 8 years. To make the seid John free of the feloughshipp of the merchant adventurers in the pties beyond the Sea called the old Hawnce.
6. He shall make at his own cost his apprentice free of the feloughshipp of the merchant strangers in the pties beyonde the Sea in Flaunders.

HATMAKER.

"2 lez walkking basyns & sex lez fashening blokks ac oia alia utensilia."

JOYNER.

1. Nine years. A joynter a foreplane a hamer a handsawe a hatchet a parsour a mortas wymblye a framyn chesell a doz karving tooles & 20s.
2. A hamer a hatchet a handsawe a passor fforeplane a paring chysell and halfadozen carving tools.

MASON.

1. A plome rule a trowell and a hamaxe.
2. A pykeaxe a bryckaxe & a hammeraxe.
3. A Trowell a hamer a brickaxe a square a levell and a handpickaxe.

MERCER.

1. To a man & his wife 8 yrs. To find him to france to learn the language of Fraunce by the space of one hool year of the said terme.

2. Bound to a man and his wife. If she survived her husband and married again the covenants to be void.
3. A fustian lome.
4. A woman apprenticed to.

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

1. 9 years. Old Haunce.
2. 11 years. Old Haunse.
3. Called the New Hance.

REDERS.

(Burton next Trent.) 7 years 23s. 4d. doble clothes for holiday & worken days all man of tooles, &c. A Cardynall legat & a trowell w^t suche other tooles.

ROUGHMASON.

1. The seyd Thomas Rysshbroke grauntith to teache the seyd Robart Nycker his craft aforeseyd fynding him meat drynke, &c. And allso shall gyve him at thend of the seyd terme Three pounds of good English money and dubble apparell to his bodye mete, &c. And allso one brykaxe a hammeraxe a pykeaxe and one trowell and allso yt ys fully condescended and agreed betwyn the seyd pties that the seyd Thomas shall have take and enioye to his owne pper use the one half of the revenues and pfyghts of a certayne Tenement wyth thap-purtenances wyche the seyd Robart hathe in Crowne Thorppe aforeseyd during the seyd terme. In Witness, &c.
2. One of every tool pertaing to the science, one lawfull susst toole.
3. A trowell a plomerule a hammeraxe and a squyer.

4. Also the seyde Michael Knot further grauntith to teach the sayed Thomas Knott to play in and upon vyolls vyolette and harpe as allso to synge playne songs and pryksongs at his owne pp cost & charge wⁱⁿ the foresayed terme. And to paye & dely^u or cause to be payed and dely^ued unto the sayed Thomas at thend of the foresayd tearme iij^u a suffycient vyoll a vyolette and a harpe, a trowell a plumberewle an hamax a square and doble apparell.
5. A brykaxe a hamax, a trowell and a pykax.
6. A hamaxe a trowell a bryck axe a square a plomerule a levell and a hand pykeaxe.
7. A hameraxe a pykaxe a brykaxe a plome Rewle & a trowell and to be allowed on the holydayes & other voyde times to take advantage of his oc^oñ to his own use.
8. A trowell a hamaxe a pykaxe a plome Rewle & a square.

SADDLER AND FOISTERER.

- 7 years. Sup dorsu d^e Indenture. It is coueñntd that the seid Robert Cook of Harleston shall dely^u to the seid laurens or his assign so muche butter & chese as shall be valued at xls. in vj yeres every yere to the valewe of vjs. viij^d. between michaelmas & hallowmas, for the whiche the seid laurens shall Repaye to the seid John Cook at thend of the tearme of his seid yeres xls. over & beside the frseid xxs. provyded that if eyther of the seid lawrens or John dep this world wⁱⁿ the seid yeres then the deliuey to be relinquyshed & lett, &c.

SCRIVENER.

To learn the Scyens of Scrivener that is to saye wrytyng reading & vnderstanding of all manⁿ of Evydens

& all other things which the said John is accustomed to do.

SILKWOMAN.

A woman bound to Edm. Pryke of Norwich tailer & Elizth. his wife 8 years.

SMITH.

1. A shoing hamo^r a par of pynsens & a boto^r.
2. A smith's hammer weighing 10 lbs.

TAYLOR.

1. A pair of Taylor's sheres and a pressen iron.
2. A peir of sheres a p^rssen Iron a yerd wand a neddell a thymble & iijs. iiijd.
3. To serve 10 years, and at end to receive 6s. 8d.

WORSTEDSHERMAN.

1. To serve 8 years and receive at end 20s., a peir of sheres, iij Ribbles, doble arayment, & shall cause and set forth the said John to learne to write and rede perfectly.
2. A p^r of worsted shermans sheres a coppell of Rybles a shopp.
3. To a man & his wife for 10 years; 40s. at end.

WORSTEDWEAVER.

1. 9 years.
2. 1556. And the seid Edmond grauntith to fynde the seid Thomas meate, &c., & all other things after the custome, &c., & shall teache him his crafte & mystery in all things after his wytt and the seid Thomas to be set furth in the lome at Michaelmas nexte and to learne him to frequēt his marketts to bye such

yerne & stuff as belong to the mystery & to teache the seid Thomas in the latter yere of his terme to sorte his yerne & warpe his lome. And to suffer the seid Thomas in harvest tyme yerely to go home to his friends in Bedfordshire & to remayn there one month. And to gyve him in the end of his terme 40s. gyven to the seid Edmūd by Walter Grey uppon condycon to cherysh the seid Thomas ; and to delyver him doble apparell. And if Thomas Dye wthin the terme the seid Edmūd to paye the seid 40s. to Walter Grey or his assigns and if Thomas lyve then at his dēpture to bequeath at his will & pleasor.

3. 7 years & a year of coŵt for which 20s. and doble arayment.
4. At end of terme a bedstead and a pair of sheets.
5. In the time of harvest next before end of terme to suffer appñtyce to dēpt from service all the time of harvest to the intent he may use and occupy himself to his own use & profit in such work as he may think best during all the said harvest time.
6. 7 years and a year of coŵt in which year to have 40s. and doble apparell.
7. And to find him & sett to learnyng to wright & reade wth some schole master two harvest seasons.
8. For two years, residue of 7 promised. At the end of every cloth he shall weave during his terme 1d.
9. 8s. yearly paid quarterly.
10. Advantage of every harvest during said term for 8 weeks.
11. To find him to lernyng to wright and rede wth some school master two harvest seasons.
12. 9 years. At end of 7 years 13s. 4d. at end of 8 yrs. 13s. 4d. & at end of 9 yrs. 26s. 8d.

APPENDIX I.

M^d. That the daye and yere aforeseyd Symon Crabb Cytezen of Norwich worstedweuⁿ Inrolleth an Indenture dated in the feast of St. Mathy thappostell in the yere of our Lord 1557¹ Sealed by Symon Crabb his sonn wherby the seyde Symon Crabb thonger hath put himselfe appren-tyce to his seyde father unto his occupaton of worsted-weavinge. And wyth his said father and his assignes to serve from the seyde feast of St. Mathye thappostell unto thend of Seaven yeres During wch seyde tearme he grauntyth to doo all things as yt becometh, &c. Allso the seyde Symon thelder covenñts and grauntyth to fynde his seyde sonn meat drinke lynnen woollen hose shoos, &c., dureing the seyde tearme. Furthermore he grauntyth to teach his seyde sonn his seyde crafte geving him reasonable chastysements for his defaults and to gyve him in th'end of the seyde tearme xxs. and doble apparell in lynnen and woollen, &c.

APPENDIX II.

Tempore Johannis Aldryche Maioris Memorandū Quod vndecimo die mensis Maij Anno Regni dñe Elizabeth regine ꝑc. Primon Simon Petyt civis Norwici worstedweaver ac executor testamenti et vltime voluntatis Simonis Crabbe de Norwico predicta worstedweaver Irrotulari fecit quandam Indenture Cujus quidem tenor sequitur in hec verba.

This Indenture made in the feast of St. Mathy thappos-tell in the yeare of oure lorde god m^{lo} ccccc and LVII Bytween Symonde Crabb of the Cytie of Norwich worsted weuⁿ on thone ptye and Symon Crabbe his sonne on the other pty Wytnesseth that the seyde Symon the younger

¹ 30th April, 1558.

of his owne proper mynde and frewyll have ordeyned and put him selfe in the man^r of apprentyce and a servant unto the seyde Symon his father unto the crafte and mystery of worsted weaving. And with the seyde Symon his father and his assignies in the manner of apprentyce and a servant to remain and serve from the seyde feast of St. Mathy unto thend and tearme of Seaven yeres next inswinge to be complet and ended. Duering which tearme the seyd Symon thonger shall the seyde Symon his father as his master him to serve and obbey in all lefull and lawfull as it becometh a servant to be. The secreats of his master he shall not discover but his precepts lawfull and honest he shall dylygently fulfill. The good^e of his seyde M^r. he shall not inordynatly waste the taverne nor the Alehouse in custome he shall not use nor haunte. Also he shall se no hurt to be done to his seyde master of no person nor persons but hym shall ayde helpe and defende with all his might poure and strenkith. Fornycatōn nor adultery in the mean season with any woman within his master's place he shall not comyte in payne of dubling his yeres Matrimony nor contract with any woman he shall not make without lycence of his seyde M^r. Allso he shall not absent hymselfe from his masters place pryve nor pert neyther by daye nor by night but at all tymes conveynent to be delygent and redy at hande as yt becometh a servant to be. Also companyes Suspecte places dishonest playes and games prohibited and forbodyn in no manner a wise he shall exercise which should be grevous or hurtefull to his seyde M^r. but the goods and cattells of his seyde M^r. he shall well and trewly keape and thereof to him make answere. Allso he shall behave hymselfe gently ageynst his seyde M^r. and his in all things as it becometh a servant to be all the hooll tearme aforeseyde. Furthermore the seyde Symon Crabb the elder covenanteth and grauntith by theis presents y^t he shall fynde or do to be founde the seyde Symon Crabb thonger all the hole

terme aforeseyd meat and drynke suffyciently clothes to his bodye and bedd hosis shoos and all other necessaryes as yt becometh a sarvant to have after thuse and custume of the seyde Cytye of Norwich. Allso the seyde Symon thelder shall learne and teach or do to be learned and taught the seyde Symon thonger his crafte and mystery as well in byeinge and sellinge as in workinge as fare as the capacity and wit of the seyde Symon wyll extende and take. Allso the seyde Symon thelder shall gyve to the seyde Symon thonger for his defaults reasonable chastysement^e. Allso the seyde Symon thelder shall gyve and deliver or do to be given and delyvered to the seyde Symon thonger at the ende and tearme of the seyde yeres for his covenant the Some of **xxs.** of goode Englishe money with doble apparell that is to saye one for the holye daye and one for the worken daye. In witness whereof the parties aboveseyde to theis Indentures enterchaungeably have sett to ther Sealls in the yere and daye abovewrytten.

The Squire Papers.

STUDENTS of Carlyle will remember the fierce controversy which arose some years ago as to the genuineness of some letters alleged to be by Cromwell, communicated to Carlyle by an anonymous correspondent, which letters are to be found at the end of vol. ii. of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*. (Chapman and Hall, 1871.)

Various expressions and words which occur in them—*e.g.*, “put up with,” “back us,” “sweating hard,” “a rare survey,” “I shall be cross,” “I sadly fear,” “mind and come on,” “cravat,” “no nonsense,” “those slow fellows,” “no imposition,” “I must insist,” “stand no nonsense,” “Lanciers”—seemed to many most unlikely to have occurred in correspondence of the period in which they were alleged to have been written. But I do not think any of the critics noticed that “London Lane,” in Norwich, where “Cornet Squire” was directed to purchase some hosiery for Cromwell, (p. 279) was never so called, and that London *Street* was then, and until quite recently, called “Cockey Lane.”

The list “of those who joined us at the siege of Lynn” (pp. 291-2-3) seems to me to bear the strongest internal evidence of forgery. Every one knows how extremely rare double Christian names were at the time referred to, but in a list of one hundred and forty names only no less than four instances occur, *viz.*, Price Stephen Read, William Valentine Thurton, Thomas Christian Lowger, and Peter A. Money.

The proportion of unusual Christian names is also most absurdly large, *e.g.*, Constantine, Hiram, Octavius, Japhet, Levi, Isaiah, Simon, Jonathan, Moses, Alwyn, Hezekiah, Aram, Zatthu, Ahimelech, Sheckaniah, Tobias, Icheil, Zeche-riah, Selah, Manna, Aaron, Eleazar, Ishmael, ‘Villlellius, Zered, Israel, Hubert, Amphillicus, Allwurd, Cladius, Egbert, Pious, Jesophat, Shem, &c.

W. R.

THE RIOT
BETWEEN
The Monks and Citizens of Norwich
IN 1272.

My excuses for going so much at length into this episode in Norwich history are, first, that it is in itself a striking example of the struggles which took place in early times between the religious and the secular parties; and, secondly, that the accounts hitherto published of it, and of the previous disputes which led to it, simply teem with errors¹ and with wild word-painting of the weakest character.

Disputes first arose between the tenants of the monks and the citizens of Norwich, in the reign of King John, as to their respective rights of commoning on the lands between Eaton, Lakenham, Horsford Bridge, and Norwich, owing, it is said, to the monks, who had an earlier charter than the

¹ Two samples will suffice.

(1) Blomefield (blindly, as ever, followed by Dean Goulburn) states that the citizens robbed and burned the convent in 1234, but the authority they cite refers to a totally different occurrence, viz., the burning of some Jews' houses (*vide* Appendix 33, No. 3.)

(2) The immediate origin of the riot in 1272 is said by Dean Goulburn (thus rashly deserting Blomefield for an erratic path of his own composing) to be a dispute as to an inquest which did not take place till 1286 (*vide* Appendix 33, No. 7.)

citizens, being jealous of the rights claimed by the latter. The dispute was arranged by a fine levied in the King's Court.²

Soon after,—and I mention this to show that the ecclesiastics did not quarrel only with their citizen neighbours,—a dispute arose between the Bishop and the Crown, and certain men of the former were sent to prison and their lands seized—not to be released till 1241.³

In 1244 some sort of decision seems to have been made as to the relative liability of the monks and citizens to make up the £100 for the annual tax of the City, it being mentioned on the *Pipe Roll* for that year that the Prior's tenants who dwelt in Norwich and held there of the King should find £20 of it.

In 1249-50 the Prior was prosecuted for taking holiday toll of the bakers and others of the City, but, pleading custom, was discharged.

The first actual bloodshed of which I find any record was in 1256-7, and took place in a dispute between John de Letton⁴ and Robert de Montekaniso (a clergyman) and Ralph the Priory baker, during which the baker threw a stone at John and hurt him on the forehead, on which John drew his sword and mortally wounded the baker, who struggled into the Priory, followed, to the very gate, by his two opponents. The injured man died on the fourth day, and the City Bailiffs were not allowed to hold an inquest on his body, as indeed it is difficult to see why they should have been.⁵

In the same year the Prior was presented for collecting Landgable of the citizens after dinner, though the City

² Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iii. p. 41, and see Appendix 21, pp. 93 and 102.

³ *Close Roll*, 25 Henry III., part 1, mem. 3.

⁴ A John de Lettun was the donor of land in Dillington to Castleacre Priory.—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, x. p. 48.

⁵ Appendix 1.

Bailiffs had taken it before dinner (Appendix 1) and also for that he would not allow the bailiffs to enter and distrain.

In another case (set out in Appendix 2) the Prior would not allow an inquest to be held on a man named Gerard Godsoloche, who was drowned in the Wensum and came ashore on the Prior's fee. And here again he would, *primâ facie*, seem to be in the right.

During the next year the monks and their servants came into open collision with the bailiffs, who alleged that ten of them entered the city *vi et armis* and beat, wounded, and ill-treated the bailiffs because they endeavoured to preserve the liberties of the City (Appendix 3). The incursion of the monks and their followers seems to have been to try to expel the bailiffs from a tenement which Simon de Castro formerly held *in capite* of the King.

On the last day of the Feast of the Holy Trinity,⁶ 56 Henry III. (1272) the dispute⁷ arose which eventually led to the disastrous outbreak described hereafter.

A "standard" or quintain was erected in Tombland, probably for the use of the citizens only, many of whom came and broke spears against it; the chief being Geoffrey Brun, Stephen le Blunt, "clericus," Henry Godale, Robert Bonenfaunt, Hugh de Coventry, and Walter Drake. Among the spectators were several,⁸ probably servants, belonging to

⁶ Trinity Sunday this year fell on the 19th June.

⁷ Dean Goulburn states that bad blood had been caused two days before by a dispute as to the Prior's jurisdiction on the occasion of an inquest held on one Hervey de Vallibus, who had been accidentally killed, but this is all a mistake, *vide* Appendix 33, No. 7. A Hervey de Vallibus, probably father or grandfather of this man, had been Bailiff of the City in 1248.

⁸ "Et ibidem interfuissent quidam de Prioratu Norwyci," which has been curiously translated by the Dean that Geoffrey le Brun and others "fell on a man of the Priory and killed him (!)"

the Priory, and during the sport a quarrel, nominally arising in a scramble for the broken truncheons of the spears, began between them and the citizens. Too ready for any pretext for renewing the old feud, the townsmen drove the Prior's retainers back into the Priory.

During this assault, one William le Messer from within shot out a bolt from his crossbow and killed Adam de Newenton, one of the citizens, on the spot, thus drawing the first blood.⁹ On this the City Coroners held an inquest and found the Prior's men guilty of murder, and not long after arrested two whom they caught in the City Liberties.¹ Thereupon the Prior procured the citizens to be excommunicated and laid under an interdict—the Bull says for the assault, but Blomefield for a breach of privilege in holding the inquest.

In August the Prior's men closed their gates and hung out scutcheons, targets, bucklers, and crossbows, and shooting over the walls wounded many.²

Overtures for peace seem to have been made on the part of the citizens, who sent certain Friars Preachers³ and nuns to the Prior. The negotiations went so far that by arrangement each party chose arbitrators, who came to an agreement which was sealed by the citizens with their common seal, but to which the Prior declined to affix the seal of his Chapter, only offering to put his own private seal to it.

The next incident to which we come is, that on the Sunday before St. Laurence⁴ the Prior brought up from Yarmouth

⁹ *Crown Plea Roll*, Appendix 12. The old roll at fo. 127 of the *Book of Charters of the City*, quoted by Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 61 (*vide* Appendix 17), says that many of the townsmen were killed in the fray.

¹ The same old roll as quoted by Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 61.

² It is not stated that they killed anyone.—*Vide* Appendix 33, No. 9.

³ The friars, it can be hardly doubted, were not unwilling, for their own reasons, to appear in this position as against the monks.

⁴ St. Laurence is the 10th of August.

and elsewhere, three barges full of armed men, with "guns," bows, and arrows, and other weapons, who came into the town beating drums and sounding trumpets as though in war. Thus reinforced, the Prior's men sallied out at night, killed and wounded several, robbed a merchant called Alfred Cutler⁵ of £20 and more, and broke open Hugh de Bromholm's tavern, drinking what wine they pleased and wasting the rest.⁶ They are also said to have fired three houses near the Grey Friars and burned them down.⁷

The City authorities are said to have immediately sent letters of complaint to the King,⁸ and summoned the citizens to meet in the Market Place at ten the next day, according to the *Liber Albus* (Appendix 22) to bring to justice those who had made "an illegal castle" in their City—a view borne out by the fact that their chief officers were among the so-called rioters. That it was a general muster there can be little doubt, though of course we shall never know whether the statement in Pope Gregory's Bull, that the voice of the crier and the sound of the bell called up all in the city over twelve years of age, is correct or not.

Accordingly, on the next day, which was the Monday next before the Feast of St. Laurence, viz., the 9th August,⁹

⁵ Rob. le Cotiller took part in the subsequent assault.

⁶ The old roll, quoted before by Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 57. Substantially the same account is given in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Appendix 22), which states that the men who were brought were some of those who during the late civil war had existed as thieves, robbers, and malefactors. Some of those afterwards slain were certainly from Yarmouth and its neighbourhood, *vide Crown Plea Roll* in Appendix 12, which mentions, *i.e.*, John le Wayte of Yarmouth, Roger of Fyleby, and Thomas at Holver of Yarmouth. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the Priory at Yarmouth was a cell of Norwich Priory, both being founded by Bishop Herbert de Lozinga.

⁷ Blomefield, iii. p. 55.

⁸ The old roll cited by Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 57, now unluckily lost.

⁹ The date is fixed by the official entry of the *Crown Plea Roll* (Appendix 12).—Harrod says *Tuesday*, the 9th August, Cotton says the *last* of St. Laurence.

Geoffrey le Brun, Stephen le Blunt, and many others¹ whose names are set out in the *Crown Plea Roll*, and among whom were no less than fifteen clergy and chaplains² met, with the result I have now to describe.

They attacked the Priory by the Ethelbert Gate, against which they placed fire, and so burned it down. The parish church of St. Ethelbert, which then stood just within these gates, and which it may be presumed was held by the defenders as an outwork, was next taken and burned, and, it is said, all its ornaments, books, and images stolen.

The fire flaring up caught the belfry,³ by which I presume was meant the bell tower which stood between the Ethelbert and the Erpingham Gates, rather nearer the latter than the former, and it was destroyed. What other mischief was done it is impossible to say, so glaring are the exaggerations of the monkish writers. The Pope's Bull says the Cathedral, the belfry, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, treasury, sacristy, guest chamber, and so on,—in fact, all the place, "except

¹ The Dean says 129, of whom two were women. The roll says "127 and others," and specifies *three* women. John de Oxnead says 32,000!! The completed list I have compiled (post pp. 30, 31) gives the names of 173.

² They were Robert de Acle, capellanus; Elyas de Buris, clericus; Thomas Dudde, clericus; Robert de Kancia, clericus; Hugh de Coventry, clericus; Peter de Kyrbrok, clericus; Nicholas de Wichingham, clericus; John Faggelman, clericus; Henry Curteys, clericus; Warin, capellanus of the parish of St. Olave; Robert Bene, capellanus; Wm. le Blunt, clericus; Thomas de Keteringham, clericus; Stephen le Blunt, clericus; John de Reynesthorp, clericus; besides whom there were Benedict, Roger and Thomas, the sons of Peter, clericus. Eleven of the assailants held land or houses.

³ The London chronicler, in Appendix 22, says it caught accidentally through a fire some smiths made in it, and left when they fled. Cotton says fire was thrown into it by balistæ. But he talks of the fire being thrown from the tower of St. George into the great bell-tower which was *beyond* the choir, which, if it means anything, means the tower which carries the spire, and this has clearly never suffered from fire. There is no sign of any tower beyond the choir.

three or four buildings,"⁴ is said to have been burned. Against this we have the simple still-enduring fact that the Norman work all over the Cathedral yet remains perfectly uninjured, and therefore could not have been burnt down in the ordinary acceptance of the word. Dr. Jessopp pointed out to me on the stonework of the south part of the choir traces of fire, which seems to have entered at the windows and licked the southern faces of the pillars, but never to have come round them.⁵ I expect the real explanation of the apparently irreconcilable difficulty may be found in the London chronicler, who, referring to the mischief done, says, "*what could be burned* was reduced to ashes," and that of the Cathedral itself the woodwork only suffered.

One thing we do know, and that is that only thirteen of the defenders were slain;⁶ and if the "32,000" infuriated rioters of which Cotton talks were as moderate in their arson as in their manslaughter, it is highly unlikely that they would have done as much mischief as has been said. Knowing too, as we do, that the assailants who could be identified only numbered 173, we can place but little reliance on the strict accuracy of a historian who runs up the number to 32,000.

That, unluckily, they did mischief enough in all conscience is only too clear. They, or some of their followers, are said to have seized the sacrament of the altar, the sacred vessels of gold and silver, the candelabra, the vestments, and so on.⁷ That the chief men of the City party condescended to such

⁴ Cotton says "except the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin," but Matthew Paris says "except the Chapel of St. Walter." Both cannot be right.

⁵ This of course may be the result of the fire of 1171-2, mentioned by Bartholomew de Cotton, and overlooked by Blomefield and the Dean.

⁶ Their names are given in Appendix 12. The Bull says, "some clerks and laics"; Cotton says, "many monks, some subdeacons, and some clerks"—as usual proving too much, for none of the thirteen seem to have been monks.

⁷ The documents unluckily suffered.—Appendix 21, p. 227.

plunder is hardly likely, considering their high position and wealth in the City; but, like others who have appealed to force, they probably found that they had raised a devil they could not lay, and lost control over some of their followers.

Though perhaps they lost control so far as to be unable to stop plunder, it is clear they were strong enough to stop any massacre. Whatever they did when once they were in possession, seems to have been done deliberately. The Bull admits that regular sentence of death was passed on some of those killed, and Cotton goes further in saying that some were taken out and executed in the City,⁸ and others imprisoned, while Oxnead says that the thirty servants were taken out and brought before the City tribunal, and so condemned.

Where the monks rallied and took refuge we cannot say, but it is clear they kept together and made a stand; for the day after the assault the Prior, William de Brunham, himself slew a man (John Casmus)⁹ by striking him on the head with a falchion.¹

The news of so important a disturbance as this was not long in coming to the King, nor was he long in acting on it. How it was conveyed to him, and in what form, we shall never know;² but it would seem that it was not altogether favourable to the monks, for in his letters patent, (Appendix 4) dated 15th August, 56 Henry III., he refers to "many conflagrations, homicides, and losses, which had been perpetrated as well in the Priory as in the town." By such letters

⁸ Some sort of trial no doubt took place, for the *Common Pleas Roll* says some of the monks' retainers were beheaded.

⁹ Nicholas Kasemus was one of those condemned by the Inquisition for his share in the assault.

¹ Appendix 16.

² Of the aggressions by the monks a day or two before, the citizens had already complained to him.

patent he sent Hugh Pecche, Geoffrey de Percy, and Ralph de Bakepuz³ to Norwich to take charge of the City, and ordered the Sheriffs of Norwich and Suffolk and the burgesses and commonalty of the City to help them in every way. On the same day he also commanded the Bailiffs of Colchester to stop and detain the person and goods of any burgess of Norwich who came into their district,⁴ and sent letters patent to William Giffard,⁵ Constable of Norwich Castle, or to his sub-constable, apprising them of the appointment of Pecche and the two others, and commanding him to receive them into the Castle and aid them in every way. (Appendix 5.)

Not long after he seems to have thought the matter of sufficient importance to need his personal presence; for he set out for Norfolk viâ Bury St. Edmund's, whence on the 6th September he sent letters patent to the same William Giffard, stating that he was hastening to Norwich to punish the offenders, and ordering him to summon all knights and

³ Of these three Commissioners I can find but little. Reference to Foss's *Judges* shows that they had never filled any judicial office. They were probably country knights of some importance, and nothing more. A *Sir Ralph de Bakepuz* was one of the jurors as to knights' fees in Notts and Derby (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 17), and another of the same name occurs at various times in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., as holding land and having grant of free warren in Somerset. *Sir Geoffrey de Percy* was apparently of Kent, and just before the time of the riot had acted as counsel for Queen Eleanor in a suit against John Tresgoz and others (*Abt. Plac.* p. 182.) He was brother-in-law to Gilbert de Kirkeby, who was a Justice of Assize in 1293, which may have had something to do with his appointment. *Sir Hugh Pecche* was a Suffolk knight, and his wife was a Segrave, a family which numbered more than one justiciary among its members. In 40 Henry III. he bought the right to hunt in the King's forests in Worcester and Hunts.

⁴ It is elsewhere stated (Blomefield iii., p. 54) that similar letters were sent to all ports in England and France, but I find no authority for this. There are, at all events, no entries to that effect on the *Patent Roll*.

⁵ The Sheriffs of the county after 25 Henry III. always had the custody of the Castle.—Kirkpatrick's *Notes concerning Norwich Castle*, p. 110.

free tenants holding twenty librates of land and upwards to come before him at Norwich on Thursday in the octaves of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary next. (Appendix 6.) Other letters were sent the same day to the Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon to bring a jury of twenty-four knights and free tenants having the same qualification. (Appendix 6.)

Four days later (10th September) the King, who was still at Bury St. Edmund's, sent letters patent to the bailiffs, the burgesses, and the commonalty of Yarmouth, stating that, as from trustworthy information he learned that certain contentions and discords might easily arise in their town, he sent Walter de Burges (the Marshal of his Household) to arrest and hold in safe custody certain suspected persons, whose names the said William was to let them know, and they were also to choose twenty-four faithful and discreet burgesses, who were to be at Norwich on the Wednesday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. (Appendix 7.)

The King entered the City on the 14th September, the Interdict being withdrawn for his convenience, and on the 23rd September ordered Ralph de Bakepuz and Geoffrey de Percy to give over the City to Hugh Pecche and Hervey de Stanhou, to whose charge he committed it; Hervey accounting for the income, &c., of the City to the Exchequer. (Appendix 8.)

It is quite clear that however dissatisfied the King was with the citizens, he was equally so with the monks; for on the same day he took possession of the Priory and its possessions, and committed it to Robert de Waucham, Prior of Dunham, who was to answer to him for all the profits, except reasonable sustenance to the sub-prior and convent. (Appendix 9.)

Within the next day or two⁶ the King left Norwich for

⁶ Blomefield iii., p. 56, states that he left on the 27th September, but the letters patent show he was at Walsingham by the 26th.

Walsingham, whence, on the 26th September, he sent to the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, commanding him to assist Pecche and de Stanhowe in every way. (Appendix 10.)

The punishment meted out to the citizens was severe. Twenty-nine⁷ of them (and possibly 19 more, *see* later) were dragged to the gallows and hung, and their bodies afterwards burned.

The day after the King left Norwich, William de Brunham, the Prior, resigned the Priory into his Bishop's hands,—a somewhat formal proceeding, considering his Priory and its possessions had already been taken by the King.

On the 16th November the King, whose end was not improbably hastened by this strain on him, died at Westminster, and on the 4th December Edward I. sent his letters patent to the Sheriff confirmatory of the appointment of Pecche and Stanhow, and also ordered him to summon before him a jury of true and free men by whom the truth as to certain enquiries they were directed to make might best be found out. (Appendix. 11.)

If we believe the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* this resulted in an inquisition of forty knights living near the City, finding (1) that the Church was burned by accident through the smiths employed by the Prior, (2) that the Prior proposed to burn the whole City, placing fire to it in three places, and (3) that the Prior was guilty of homicide, robbery, &c., &c.

Unluckily I can find no trace of such an inquisition, but that some such a finding was actually made is sufficiently clear from the fact that Bartholomew de Cotton on behalf of the monks admits it, but alleges it was obtained through the rich citizens bribing (*i.e.*) the justices and the jury of forty-eight belted knights—a most improbable story. The London chronicler goes on to say that the King caused the Prior to be taken into custody and to be delivered to his Bishop

⁷ The *Liber de Ant. Leg.* says "about thirty."

to be tried, but that the latter, being unduly favorable to him, allowed him to purge himself after the manner of ecclesiastics.⁸

In the 13th year of his reign, Edward I., in his letters patent (Appendix 13) regranting the City to the citizens, twice refers to the transgressions the citizens were *said* to have done, and this certainly bears out the idea that more careful enquiry reversed the finding of the first jury.

At this length of time one can hardly form an opinion on the merits of the case, but an attempt to do so may not be out of place.

The result of such an attempt seems to prove that, however unwisely the citizens may have acted in taking the law into their own hands, instead of waiting the result of their complaint to the King, the real blame of the affair rests with the monks, and notably with their Prior.

Without professing to go into any lengthened argument, I think all the following points tell strongly in favour of this view.

1. The dispute as to the truncheons of the spears at the quintain play appears to have been begun by the retainers of the monks; at all events, the sport was being carried on by the citizens, and any interference by the other side was gratuitous.

2. The monks drew the first blood by shooting Adam de Newton.

3. The citizens offered to submit the differences to peaceful arbitration, and the Prior threw difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

4. The Prior, instead of appealing to the King and the secular power, strengthened himself and irritated the citizens

⁸ The Prior soon died—whether struck by conscience or chafing at deprivation it matters not.

by bringing up armed men, who at once committed certain excesses, as is proved by the entry on the *Crown Plea Roll* that conflagration, homicides, &c., had taken place in the town as well as in the Priory.

5. The citizens were the first to complain to the King.

6. The force they afterwards brought against the Priory was no rabble, but a regularly organized body, led by the magistrates for the time being of the City. It is most noteworthy that not one of those of the attacking party who is known to have filled the office of Bailiff, either fled or was executed, which bears out the idea that the real mischief was done by others over whom they had lost control.

7. The leaders of such force carried out the form of legal proceedings by holding a regular trial on those they took prisoners, executing some and imprisoning others.

8. The Prior was at once deprived, and his revenues taken into the King's hand; thus showing that, even when the King's anger was strongest against the City, he recognized the fact that the Prior had been greatly to blame.

9. The ultimate finding of the justiciaries and of the jury of knights was undoubtedly favourable to the citizens, inasmuch as it acquitted them of the intentional burning of the Cathedral, and found that the Prior or his men set fire to the City in three places.

10. The high-handed way the monks acted, both before and after this riot, as is shown by the incidents set out in Appendix 3 and Appendix 32.

It may be worth while to print the following list of all who were concerned in the riot, compiled from all the various records. It gives the names of 173 in all, but no doubt several people appear under different names in different documents, so the actual total is probably somewhat less. To nineteen names which occur in Appendix 13, I have prefixed

a (*), as they do not occur anywhere else, and may relate to people executed for other crimes about this time.

Acle, John de	Fled	Colston, William	Fled
„ Richard de	Hung	Cotiller, Robert le	Fled
„ Robert de	Fled	Coventry, Robert de	
Amabil', Robert fil'	Hung	„ Hugh de	Fled
Aslahton, John de	Fled	Coverur,	
Bagge, John	Fled	Conerur, } John le	Fled
Barbur, John le, alias Slive		or	
Be (or Pe), Robert le, junr.	Fled	Cunerur,	
Belagh, William de		Cunte, W ^m . le	
Bene, Robert	Handed to	Curteys, Henry	Fled
	Bishop	„ servant	Fled
Benedicite, } John	Hung	Davy, Adam de	Fled
„ } Paul		Diss, Walter de	Hung
Benedisce, } Walter	Fled	Donewyco, W ^m . de	
Benin, John	Fled	„ John de	Fled
Benne, Peter	Hung	Drake, Walter	Hung
Blund, } Stephen le	Handed to	„ John	Fled
or	Bishop	Dudd, Thomas	Fled
Blunt, } John le	Hung	*Duttecunte, Matthew	Hung
„ William le	Fled	Dyne, or } William	
Boß, John		Dyve, } Hugh	
Bonenfaunt, Robert	Fled	Ede', Roger fil'	Hung
„ Robert (junior?)	Fled	Edmund, Benedict fil'	Hung
*Briseworth, Henry de	Hung	Ely, Nich ^s . de	
Brun, Geoffrey le	Handed to	„ Michael de	Fled
	Bishop	Establer, John le	Fled
„ William, son of		„ Hervey le	Fled
Gilbert le	Fled	Fevere, Roger le	Fled
*Bryth, Henry	Hung	Fike, or Fyk, Roger	Fled
Bukler, Richard le	Fled	Finamus, Hugh	Hung
Bures, Elias de	Fled	Fitile, Henry	Hung
Busard, Nicholas	Hung	„ Robert	Fled
But or Buttesmuth, John	Fled	Gaunter, Elurenus le	
Cachedew, Hervey	Fled	Godale, H ^r .	Hung
*Cado, John	Hung	Godeman, John	Fled
Capellanus, Henry, son of	Hung	Graunt, John le	
Carleton, Bartholomew de	Hung	Gredere, Christ ^s . ux. W ^m . le	Fled
„ Thomas de		*Gulle, John	Hung
Casmus, Nich ^s .	Fled	Hemenhale, Adam de	Fled
Chaloner, W ^m . le	Fled	*Hervy, Robert	Hung
Chapeler, Richard, brother		Hespicer } Adam le	
of Peter le	Fled	Hespiter }	
„ Roger, son of		Heved, W ^m . (the wine-	
W ^m . le	Fled	drawer)	Fled
Chaucer, Benedict le	Hung	Heydon, } Roger de	Fled
Christyen, Ralph	Fled	or } William de	Fled
Cok, Martin	Fled	Heylesdon, } Henry de	

Ho, Richard de		Pyeshank, John	Fled
Horstead, Barth ^w . de	Fled	Raggessman, }	
Hundesson, John	Fled	or John	Fled
*Jay, Barth ^w .	Hung	Rakesman, }	
Kancia, Robert de	Fled	Reynesthorp, John de	Fled
Katherine, Tho ^s . fil'	Fled	Saham, } Richard de	Fled
Kerebrok, Peter de	Fled	Selhus, } (sutor)	
Keteringham, Tho ^s . de	Fled	Scissor, Hugh	
*Kirketon, Walter de	Hung	Scot, Agnes, wife of John	Hung
Knot, John, jun.	Fled	Sewale, Geoffrey	Fled
Koc, Martin		Shepesey, Richard	Hung
Lakenham, Robert de	Fled	Shotesham, Gilbert de	Fled
Limberer, Walter le	Fled	Short, Tho ^s .	Hung
Lindraper, John le	Fled	Skippere, Rob ^t . le	Fled
Lodniis, Rich ^d . de	Fled	Sibeti, Rich ^d .	
London, Rich ^d . de		Skyl, Robert le	
Lopham, Walter de	Fled	Spikesworth, John de	Hung
*Ludyinglond, Hy. de	Hung	Staunton, John de	Fled
*Mannyng, Nich ^s .	Hung	Stodeye, Rich ^d . de	
Mathchild, }		Ston, John	
or William	Hung	*Stratton, John de	Hung
Mauhtild, }		*Sturnoyse, Isabell	Hung
*Maunchef, John	Hung	Stute, or Stule, Hugh	Hung
Messenger, W ^m . le	Hung	Sutor, }	
Moriz, }		Richard	Fled
or Richard	Fled	or Richard, ju.	Fled
Moryt, }		Suur le, } Geoffrey	Fled
Moyse(s), John	Hung	Swathefeud, John de	Fled
Mulkeberton, W ^m . de	Fled	Swerdeston, Roger de	
*Mundham, John de	Hung	Tasburgh, Barth ^w . de	Fled
Munne, Thomas	Hung	" Walter	Fled
Nade, John		" Robert	Fled
Necton, Hy. de		Taverner, Tho ^s . le	Fled
Newenton, Adam de	Killed	" Roger le	Fled
Noreys, Geoffrey de	Fled	" Roger le (jun.)	Fled
Northampton, Rob. de	Fled	Teler, W ^m . le	Fled
Norton, Hy. de	Fled	*Thorpmarket, Emma de	Hung
Odo, Roger fil'		*Thressher, John le	Hung
Olive, John	Hung	Toftes, Adam de	
" Agnes, his wife	Hung	Topecroft, Nich ^s . de	Fled
Palmer, Simon le	Fled	Tundur, Rich ^d . le	Fled
Perchmyner, }		" Adam le	Fled
or William le	Fled	Tuverur, John le [le	
Perchevilin, }		Cuverur?]	
Peter, Benedict fil'	Fled	Upton, Eustace de	Fled
" Tho ^s . fil'	Fled	Walsham, Roger de	Fled
" Richard fil'		Warin, (chaplain)	Fled
" Roger fil'		Weston, Roger de	Hung
*Petteneay, Mabil de	Hung	Wichingham, Nich ^s . de	Fled
*Potenham, Rich ^d . de	Hung	*Wymundham, Geoff. de	Hung
		Wynne, Seman	Hung

Of the above, it may be as well to point out that Thomas de Carleton was bailiff in 1259; Nicholas le Chapeler in 1247; William de Dunwich in 1272; Nicholas de Ely in 1267, 1270, and 1272; John le Graunt in 1253; William le Hespicer in 1271; Henry de Heylesdon in 1261; Walter Knot in 1258 and 1266; and Gerard Knot in 1263; Roger de Swerdeston in 1261-7-8, 1271, and 1272; Hubert le Taverner in 1262, and Adam le Taverner in 1265; Adam de Toftes in 1267 and 1270; and William le Tundur in 1256. William le Cunte is said by Blomefield to have been the King's own bailiff when the liberties were seized.

APPENDIX.

1.

Plac' Corone 41 *Hen. III.* mem. 36. Norff.
M
4
2 } 2

Johes de Letton ⁊ Robs de Montekaniso veniunt ad domū Rañ Pistoris de Prioratu Norwicensi Ita qđ quedam contenō oriebatur in⁹ eos. Ita qđ pđcs Rañ jactavit pđcñ Johem quodam lapide in fronte ⁊ fecit ei qñdam plagā. Et pđcs Johes statī ex⁹ it quēdā gladiū ejus ⁊ pcussit eū in capite ⁊ qñdam plagā ei fecit mortalem. Et idem Ranulfus statī rediit ad pōratū. Et pđci Johes ⁊ Robs insecuti fūunt ipm usq, ad portā pđci Prioratus. Et Rañ int⁹ vit pōratū ⁊ q⁹rto die de pđca plaga obiit. Et ballivi de lib⁹tate pđci pōrat⁹ nō pmi⁹unt coronar⁹ istius civitatis int⁹re pđcñ pōratū ad videndū pđcñ pđcñ (*sic*) morduū (?) ⁊ ad inquis faciendū secundū consuetudinē regni Iō ad judm de pđci lib⁹tate. Et statim postea pđci Johes ⁊ Robs

posuerunt se in eccliam Scōz Simonis ⁊ Jude. Et p̄dcs Robs ab ecclia illa evasit. Iō ad judm̄ de evasione sr̄ p̄dcam poch^m. Et jur^o malecr^o ipm̄ de p̄dca morte. Iō ex^a uti. Nulla hūit Catañ nec fine in decenna quia clīcus. Et Jōhes postea venit ad pacē dñi R ⁊ captus fuit ⁊ traditus offiċ Norwiċ. Et inde venit ⁊ dicit qđ clīcus est ⁊ qđ nō pōt hic r^o. Et sr̄ hic venit offiċ, ꝑc. Et petit, ꝑc, set ut sciat ꝑc Inquir^a, ꝑc. Et quia nō vult hic r^o laicū feodū ꝑc non invenit p̄ legios quia de lib^otate fuit Ep̄i. Et jur^o dñt qđ culpabit est de p̄dca morte Iō p̄ tali eidem officiali liberet^r.

Et Stephs le Pestur Wills le Mouñ attach p̄ p̄dca morte eo qđ p̄sentes sūunt ubi p̄dco Jōhes pcussit p̄dcū Ranulfū veñ ⁊ defendunt mortē ⁊ totū et de bono ⁊ malo ponūt se s̄ Jur^o civitatis. Et Jur̄ dñt s̄ sac^m suū qđ nō sunt culpabiles de p̄dca morte Iō inde q̄ieti. Et P̄hs le Mouñ nō venit nec malecr^o. Et fuit attach p̄ Willm̄ le Svon ⁊ Ricm̄ Shawe. Id in m̄ia. Et xij Jur^o nullā fecūnt menċoem in rotulo suo de p̄dcis attach. Id in m̄ia.

* * * * *

Jur̄ p̄senant qđ Prior istius Civitatis capit Landgablū post p̄ndū de teñ dñi r^o quo die ballivi istius civitatis capiunt Landgablū ante p̄ndū ad opus dñi r^o ⁊ hoc cont^a lib^otate istius civitatis I^o inde Lo^d (loquendum).

There is also a presentment that the Prior would not allow the bailiffs to enter and distrain.

2.

Ibid. mem. 38.

Gerard Godsolochē cecidit de quodam Batill^o in aq^m de Wensun itaqđ statī s̄m̄sit Ricūs Godselaḡ p̄mus inventor venit nec malecr̄ et fuit attach p̄ Willm̄ de Kirkeby ⁊ Johm̄ fit Willm̄i de Witton Iō in m̄ia, nullas in malecr̄, Judm̄

infort, Preč Batille v^e. Uñ prior Norwič respond. Et xij
 Juř celavunt⁹ qđ cecidit de Batillo nec aliq^m menčonom
 inde fecunt n^e inventore p^{se}nt i^o in mia. Et postea testatū
 est qđ Coroñ istius civitat⁹ nō venit ad inquisitořm faciend de
 p^{re}ds mortuo. Et q³ non p^{er} inquis, ꝛc. Dič qđ p^{re}ds
 Gerardus invent⁹ fuit sup sup (*sic*) feođ Prioris Norwyci qđ
 est infra cinctum Civitatis. Et bñ dič qđ nō potest int^{re}
 in ĩram p^{re}di Prioris ad inquis fač de mortuo, ꝛc. Et juř
 hoc idm testant^r et qđ hoies p^{re}di Prioris in eođ feodo nō
 pticipant in cōmunitatē Civit⁹. Et sup hoc veñ Wills de
 Hakeford senescall p^{re}di Prioris ꝛ dic qđ feođ illud est
 quedam soca de libtate Prioris ꝛ nunq^a solebat coĩtare ad
 civitat⁹ nec ꝛ coram Justič Itin^{ant} nec qđ Coronator istius
 Civit⁹ non debet int^{re} illam socam p aliquo casu em^{ig}ente.
 Et p^{re}ds Seneš requisitus, ubi debeat p^{re}da soca r⁹ vⁱ cū
 hundr⁹ vⁱ cū civit⁹, dič qđ semp solebatus p se. Et qđ
 coronator forniseç venire debet in eand soccam ꝛ fač
 inquis, ꝛc. Et q³ cōvictū est qđ p^{re}da socca nō venit aliquo
 mō corā Justič nec p se n^e cū hundr ꝛc iō tota soca in mia.¹

3.

*Placita de Juratis et Assisis (Divers Counties, 42 Hen.
 III.) Tower Records 26.²*

Norfolk. John Nade and Reginald le Paumer, Bailiffs of
 the City of Nōrwich (by the same Reginald their attorney)
 against *Nicholas the Cellarer* of Norwich, *Simon de Hem-*

⁹ This word is so spelt.

¹ Blomefield strangely mistranslates this—"but it being found on trial
 that he had not assured the King his deodand, neither by himself, nor by the
 justices, nor by the City, nor by the hundred, all the soc and liberty are
 fined at the King's pleasure."

² I have given a translation of this, as the language is technical. The
 occurrence is not mentioned by Blomefield.

mesby, *William de Hapesburg*, *William le Poer*, *Hervey le Poer*, *Thomas the son of Walter Salus* (?), *Richard de Upton*, *William the Miller*, *Ranulph the Bracer*, and *William of the Cellar*,³ of a plea that by force and arms they entered the liberty of the King at Norwich, and beat, wounded, and ill-treated, against the peace, the said bailiffs, on their endeavouring to resist them to preserve the liberty of the said City.⁴

And they do not come.

And they have a day (given them) "in banco," at which day afterwards many of them make default.

So that the Sheriff was directed to distrain on all of them except Nicholas and Simon [⁵ William de Happisburgh, Richard de Upton, William de Pooris (*sic*), and William of the Cellar], by their lands, &c., so that he should have their bodies, &c. And afterwards the Bishop of Norwich was commanded to cause the said Nicholas, Simon, William, Richard, William, and William, his clerks, to come, &c.

And therefore the Sheriff is directed to distrain all of them except Nicholas and Simon,⁶ by all their lands, &c., so that, &c., and that he should have their bodies at Ipswich at the last of St. Hilary.

And the Bishop of Norwich is commanded to cause Nicholas and Simon,⁶ his clerks, &c., to be there at the same time, &c.

Norfolk. *Thomas Salus*⁷ was attached to answer the said John Nade and Reginald le Paumer, the Bailiffs of the City of Norwich,⁸ on a plea that he, together with the said

³ De Celario, probably a cellarman under Nicholas.

⁴ "Et prædictos Ballivos volentes eis ad consv'acōm lib'tat' pd'ci civitatis resistere verberaverunt, &c."

⁵ Interlined.

⁶ The names of the others are omitted.

⁷ Qy. de Salhouse.

⁸ These names do not occur in Blomefield's *List of Bailiffs*, iii. p. 59.

Nicholas the Cellarer and others, entered the liberty of the King at Norwich by force and arms, and beat, wounded, and ill-treated, against the peace, &c., on their wishing [endeavouring?] to resist them to preserve the liberty of the said City.

And the said John and Reginald complain that on the day next after the Feast of St. Ambrose, in the 39th year, the said Thomas, together with the said Nicholas and others, entered the liberty of the said City, namely, with swords, Cross bows, bows and arrows, and divers other arms, and tried to expel the said John and Roger, the King's Bailiffs of the said City, who had taken seizin of a certain tenement which one Simon of the Castle [de Castro] formerly held in capite of the King.

And when they resisted them in the preservation of the said liberties, the said Thomas, together with the said Nicholas and others, beat, wounded, and ill-treated the said John and Reginald against the peace, &c., in contempt of the said King, &c., whence they say they are injured and damaged to the extent of one thousand marks. .

And Thomas comes and defends, &c. And specially defends (on the ground) that on the said day he did not enter the said liberty, nor did he beat, wound, nor ill-treat the said John and Roger against the peace, as they charge to him.

And that it may be so he puts himself on the County.

And so do John and Roger.

And therefore the Sheriff is directed that before him, &c., in full court, &c., he should summon twelve jurymen to come, &c., by whom, &c., and who nothing, &c., by whose oaths, &c., (it should be enquired) if the said Thomas with the said Nicholas and others by force and arms entered the said liberty (&c., as before set out), and to cause the result of the said inquisition, &c., to be known by the Octaves of St. Hilary, at Ipswich, by letters, &c., and by two, &c.

*Patent Roll, 56 Henry III.*⁹

Rex dīlčis ⁊ fidelibꝫ suis Hugoni Peche ⁊ Galfro de Percy ⁊ Raðo de Bakepuꝫ salēm. Cum ex testimonio viroꝝ fide-dignoꝝ intelleximꝰ p̄ certo qđ ocđoe cujusdem contēcois seu discordie suborte int̄ Priorem ⁊ conventū Norwyc ⁊ suos ex parte una ⁊ Burġ ⁊ Comunitatē ville n̄ri Norwic ex altera incendia homicidia ⁊ dampna plurima tam in priorata illo qđm in villa predīct̄ hinc inde jam ppetrata sunt. Nos volentes qđ illi de villa pred̄ca qui non sunt culpabiles de f̄co pred̄co seu qđ innocentes pro nocentibꝫ in hoc parte dampnū sustineant seu jacturā mittimꝰ vos ad villam pred̄cam ad eandem villam una cum omibꝫ bonis ⁊ caꝫ terris ⁊ ten̄ redditibꝫ ⁊ aliis ad eandem villam spectantibꝫ capiend̄ in manū n̄ram ⁊ salvo custodiend̄ put v̄ra discreto melius novit̄ expedire. Mandamꝰ enī vič n̄re Norff ⁊ Suff ⁊ Burġ n̄ris ⁊ toti comunitati ville pred̄ce nec non ⁊ omibꝫ ballivio ⁊ fidelibꝫ n̄ris partiñ illaz qđ vobis in p̄missis intendentes sunt ⁊ respondentes consulentes ⁊ auxiliantes ⁊ qđ vob̄ ad p̄missa facienda ⁊ fidelit̄ exeqñda diligent̄ assistant put eis scire facietis ex pte n̄ra. In cujus, ꝑc. T. R. apud Westm̄ xv. die Aug.

R. Burġ ⁊ toti comunitati ville sue Norwič salēm. Cum, ꝑc. [The rest of the entry is the same as the last, but in the third person.]

Letters patent to the Bailiffs of Colchester follow, directing them to stop and detain the person and goods of any burgess of Norwich who comes into their district.

⁹ This is also the reference for Nos. 5 to 10 inclusive.

5.

Rex Willmō Giffard constab castri sui Norwiĉ vel subconstabul castri ejusdem salm. Cum mittam9 dilcōis ⁊ fideles nros Hugo Pecche Galfrr de Percy ⁊ Radm de Bakepu3 p̄sentiū exhibitores ad villam nram Norwiĉ p quibusdam negoĉ nris specialib3 que eis injūgim9 exped et certis de causis velemus qđ predĉi fideles nri receptaculū hēant in castro predĉo ⁊ castrum illud p voluntate sua ingrediantur ⁊ eodem morent' quotiens opus fuerit ⁊ ab ipis sup hoc fueritis requisiti vobis mandam9 firmi⁹ injūgentes qđ prefatos fideles nros castrū illud ingredi ⁊ in eadem morari ⁊ receptaculū hre pmittatis et eis in hac parte intenditis sitis responditas cōsulentes ⁊ auxiliantes put ipi vob scire faĉ ex pte nra. Et hoc sicut honorem vrm diligitis ⁊ indignaĉō vram volueritis nullatenus omittatis T ut s^{ca}.

6.

Rex Willmō Giffard viĉ Norff salm. Cum quidam blāpheme filii ⁊ pprie salutis inmemores nup vi ⁊ armis insultum facerunt in monach Prioratus Norwic ⁊ in quosdam alios cum monachis ipis in eodem prioratū existentes ⁊ q^umplures ipoz infecerunt ⁊ ecĉiam ⁊ res sacras ac domos prioratus illius combusserunt ⁊ alia sacrileg ibidem animo irreventi ⁊ infrenato multiplici⁹ ppetraverunt in offensam divini nominis ac subv̄sionem ecĉiastice libertatis nec non ⁊ in nri dedecus ⁊ pturbaĉōem pacis nre gravissimam que nobis angustiam ⁊ dolorem tanto vehementius intulerunt q^unto talia ⁊ detestabilia scelera nunq^um hactenus est auditum per aliquos ppetrata fuisse. Ac nos pp^{ri} tantum ⁊ tam enorme facinus put exposuit rei qualitas puniendum ad partes Norwiĉ accedere festinem9. Vobis mandam9 in fide homagio ⁊ sub debito prestiti juramenti quib3 nobis estis

astracti (?)¹ firmi² injūgentes quatinus omēs milites ⁊ libere tenentes hēntes viginti libratas terre vel ultra venire faci² coram nobis apud Norwyc. Ita qđ sunt ibi ad nos modis omībz die Jovis in octav² nativitati bē Marie pximo ventur² ad faciend² sup hiis quod de consilio hīro p̄cise duxim²us pviendum. Et hoc sub pena exheredačonis ⁊ piculo vite ⁊ membroꝝ nec non amissionis omniū bonoꝝ ⁊ ca² que hnt in regno nro nullatenus omittant. Et tali² ⁊ tam efficacit² in execuone p̄sentis mandati nri vos heatis ne pp̄t negligenciam omissionem vel defc̄m vrm ul̄tionem p̄dci fatinoris in psonam vram quod absit oporteat retorqueri quod fieri faciem² si negotiū istud p vos aliqu²tenus retarderi contingat. Et heatis ibi hoc brē. In cuj²o, ꝛc. T. R. apud Sēm Edmundum vj die Sep̄r.

Item eodem modo mand² est vič Can² ⁊ Hunt qđ heat ibi die p̄dco de com² p̄dcis viginti ⁊ quatuor milites ⁊ libere tenentes hntes viginti libratas t̄re ⁊ amplius.

7.

Rex ballivis burgeñs ⁊ toti comūnitati ville de Gernemuth saltm. Quia ex testimonio viroꝝ fidedignoꝝ intellexim² qđ contentice ⁊ discord² diversa in villa p̄dca de facile poterunt suboriri² ad nrm ⁊ vrm dampnū gravissimū nisi festinū remediū ad hoc adhibeat² mittim² dilc̄m ⁊ fidelem nrm Walterum de Burges marescallum hospicii nri ad corpora quozdam de quibz sinistra suspicio hētur ⁊ quoz nōia idem Wal² vobis scire faciet ex parte nra ⁊ etiam nocte dieq, vagantur in ville p̄dca una vobiscum ⁊ de consil² ⁊ auxilio vro arrestanda ⁊ salvo custodienda. Ita qđ p̄fatus Walterus ⁊ viginti bur²g de fidelioribz melioribz discretioribz ⁊ legalioribz bur²g ville p̄dce concorditū eligendi ⁊ ad nos usq,

¹ Astricti, bound?

² This may refer to some intended retaliation by the Norwich men against the Yarmouth auxiliaries of the Priory.

Norwič p parte v̄ra destinandi ad audiendum ibidem p̄ceptū n̄st̄m corpora p̄dcoꝝ hominū h̄ant coram nobis apud Norwič hac instanti die v̄h̄is p̄xima post Exaltaçōem S̄c̄e Crucis ad audiendum ibi voluntatem n̄ram. Et ideo vobis mandamus in fide homaḡ ⁊ sub debito juramenti quib; nobis estis astricti firmi⁹ inḡgentes qđ p̄fatum Walteř ad hoc admittatis ⁊ una cum ip̄o p̄missa fač modis om̄ib; in forma p̄dco put p̄fatus Walteř vobis scire fač ex parte n̄ra. Et vos viginti juxta hoc mandatum n̄rm ex causa p̄dce eligendi sitis ad nos apud Norwič p̄dca die v̄h̄is ad aud p̄ceptum n̄rm sicut p̄dcm̄ est. Et hoc sic vos ⁊ v̄ra diligitis nō om̄ittis et h̄eatis ibi hec b̄rm. In cujō, ⁊c, T. R. apud S̄cm Edmundham x die Sept.

8.

Rex om̄ib; ⁊c saltm̄ Sciatis qđ com̄isimus d̄icis ⁊ fidelib; n̄ris Hugoni Pecche ⁊ Hervico de Stanhou villam n̄ram de Norwico cum om̄ib; p̄tiñ suis custodiant q̄mdiu nobis placuit. Ita qđ idem Hervicus p̄ visum ⁊ testimoniū p̄fati Huḡ nob̄ respondeat ad s̄c̄cm n̄rm de exitib; ⁊ p̄ventib; ejusdem ville undecumq; p̄venientib; ⁊ d̄cam villam ⁊ homines ejusdem ville contingentib; p̄ nos ⁊ consiliū n̄ram p̄visa ⁊ p̄fatis Hugoni ⁊ Hervico injuncta (?). In cujus, ⁊c. T. ut s̄. [Norwich, 23 Sept.]

Et mand̄ est Raḡs de Bakepuz ⁊ Galfrido de Pcy qđ villam p̄dcam p̄fatis Hugoni ⁊ Henrico libent custodiendam sicut p̄dcm̄ est. T. ut s̄.

9.

Rex militib; liberis hominib; ⁊ om̄ib; aliis tenentib; de Prioratu de Norwico saltm̄. Cum nup̄ certis de causis cepissemus in manū n̄ram prioratum p̄dcm̄ ⁊ maneria ejusdem prioratus cum p̄tinentiis. Nos de industria fidel-

itate ⁊ diligencia ditci nobis fr̃is Robi de Waucham prioris de Dunham confidentes com̃isim⁹ ei Prioratum p̃d̃c̃m ⁊ maneria pred̃ca cum p̃tiñ custodiend̃ quādiu nob̃ placuī. Ita qđ nob̃ inde respondeat ad sc̃c̃m ñrm salva subpriori ⁊ convētui prioratus p̃d̃ci sustentacōe rationabili de bonis prioratus p̃d̃ci put alias fieri consuevit. Et ideo vobis mandamus qđ eidem fr̃i Rob tanq̃m custod̃ ñro pred̃ci prioratus Norwič ⁊ manerioꝝ in om̃ibꝫ que ad custodiam illam p̃tinent intendentes sitis ⁊ respondentes sic p̃d̃c̃m est. In cuj⁹, ⁊c. [Norwich, 23 Sept.]

Et mand̃ est Willm̃o Giffard vič Norff. qđ eidem fratri Robo p̃d̃c̃m Prioratum ⁊ maneria p̃d̃ca cum p̃tiñ libet custodiend̃ sic p̃d̃c̃m est.

10.

Rex vič Norff ⁊ Suff ⁊ om̃ibꝫ ballivis, ⁊c saltm̃. Cum assignavim⁹ ditcōs ⁊ fideles ñros Huḡ Peche ⁊ Hervicum de Stanhou ad villam ñram Norwič cum p̃tiñ custodiendam ⁊ ad om̃ia bona ⁊ caŝ hominū ejusdem ville ubicumqꝫ fuerunt ⁊ in quocumqꝫ manibꝫ existant arrestanda ⁊ in manū ñram capienda ⁊ salvo custodienda put in litt̃is ñris patentibꝫ quas inde hūc plenius continet⁹ ⁊ eciā ad inquirendum de bonis ⁊ caŝ pred̃coꝝ hominū Norwič ⁊ put eis de consilio ñro plenius injunximus viva voce ut p̃fati Hugo ⁊ Hervic⁹ p̃missa ad plenū expediri nequeant n̄ ṽrm ad hoc inveniū consiliū ⁊ munamen. Nos de ṽra fidelitate diligencia ⁊ industria specialit̃ confidentes vob̃ mandamus in fide ⁊ dileccōe quibꝫ nos tenemini firmiū injungentes qđ p̃fatis Hugoni ⁊ Hervico ac ballivis suis in p̃missis diligent̃ assistatis ⁊ eis in p̃missis intendentes sitis ⁊ respondentes consulentes ⁊ diligentes put ip̃i vob̃ scire fač ex p̃te ñra. Et etiam ad dies ⁊ loca que ip̃i vob̃ scire fač ex p̃te ñra venire fač coram eis toť ⁊ tales ⁊c de ballivis ṽris p̃ quos, ⁊c. T. R. apud Walsingham xxvj die Septembr̃.

11.

Patent Roll 1 Edward I., mem. 20.

Et vi⁹ Norff⁹ et Suff⁹ et omibz ballivis et fidelibz suis, etc, sal^{em}. Cum celebris memorie Dñi H. Rex pat⁹ n⁹ nup assignasset Hu⁹ Peche et Henricum [Hervicum?] de Stanhow ad villam Norvici cum p⁹tiā custodiendam et ad omnia bona et ca⁹ dominū ejusdem ville ubicumq⁹ essent et in quocumq⁹ manibz exist⁹ent in manu ipius patris n⁹ri capienda arestenda et salvo custodienda put in l⁹ris ipius patris n⁹ri patētibz. Quas p⁹dci Hugo et Hervico inde hūt plenius g⁹tinet⁹ et insup ad inquiring de bonis et ca⁹ p⁹dcoz hominū Norvici put eis de consilio n⁹ro plenius est injunctum. Vob⁹ mādamus firmi⁹ injungentes qd p⁹fate Hu⁹ et Hervico ad p⁹dca bona et ca⁹ in manū n⁹ram capienda et ad alia p⁹missa facienda assistatis et eis g⁹sulētes sitis et auxiliātes donec aliud inde p⁹cepimus fac⁹ etiā venire corā eisdem Hu⁹ et Hervico [ad dies et loca q⁹ ipi vob scire facient] tot et tales p⁹bos et leg⁹ homies de ballivis v⁹ris p⁹ q⁹s rei veritas in p⁹missis meli⁹ scire potuit et inquiri. Dat⁹ ut s^a [apud Novum templum London iii⁹ die Dec.]

12.

Crown Pleas Roll, 14 Edward I. $\left. \begin{matrix} M \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix} \right\} 6 \text{ mem. } 72.$

Ad huc de Civitate Norwyc⁹.

Jur⁹ p⁹sentāt qd cum quidam standardus erect⁹ fuisset in Tomeslond ex^a portam S^ce T⁹nita⁹ Norwyci sciit in crastino s^ce T⁹nita⁹ anno regni Re⁹ Henr⁹ p⁹ris dñi Regis Lvj⁹ et ibid⁹ venissent Galf⁹rs. Brun, Steph⁹s le Blunt, Henr⁹ Godale, Rob⁹s Bonēfaunt, Hugo de Coventre, Wal⁹s Drak, et alij de Civitate Norwyci et hastas ibid⁹ fregissēt cont^a standardum

p^odem ⁊ ibid int^ofuissēt quid de p^oratu³ Norwyci ⁊ quedam contenco mota esset int^o p^odcos Galfr^m le Brun ⁊ alios ⁊ p^odcos hōies de p^oratu p^odco p^o trunceit p^odcaꝝ hastas (Et) p^odci Galfr^s ⁊ alij de civitate p^odca insultum dedeēt hōibꝫ ejusd^o p^oratu ⁊ ipōs vi effugārt usq^{ue} p^oratum p^odcm ⁊ cū ipi de p^oratu portas ejusd^o clausissent p^odci Galfr^s ⁊ alij vi ⁊ armis siml cū magna multitudie armatoꝝ ejusd^o civitat^o p^oratui p^odco insultum dedeēt ita qd^o quidam Wiſſs le Messor infra p^oratum existens pcussit quēdam Adam de Newenton ex^a p^oratū existētem quodam quarello baliste uñ statim obiit. P^om^og invētor ⁊ quatuor vicini obieēt. Et po^och que p^ous, ⁊c. Et dicūt qd^o postea ob rancorē ⁊ od^om p^odce medlete die Jovis p^ox^a añ festum s^ci Laur^o eod^o anno venūt p^odci Galfr^s le Brun, Steph^s le Blunt, Rog^s de Weston, Marting Kok, Rob^s Bonenfaunt, Hugo de Coventre, Wal^s Drak, Joh^s Drak, Hen^o Godale, Semann^o Wynne, Tho^m Munne, Rog^s de Weston, Joh^s le Blunt, Bnd^s le Chauc^o, Tho^m de Ettelegh, Ri^s Shepesey, Joh^s Moyse, Ri^s de Akle, Nich^s Bussard, Rob^s fit Amabil, Barth^s de Karleton, Joh^s Olyve, Hugo Stute, Wiſſs Mauhtild, Tho^m Short, Hen^r fit Capllani, Joh^s de Spikesw^rth, Wiſſs le Messag^o, Wal^s de Dysce, Hugo Fynamus, Bnd^s fit Ed^m, Joh^s Bndicite, Nich^s Casmus, Wal^s Bendisce, Rog^s fit Ed^e, Herve^o Fytele, Agⁿ ux Johis Scot, Joh^s Buttesmuth, Barth^s de Tasburg Tannator, Walter fr ejus, Ri^s Moryt, Hervi Cachedew, Rob^s de Tasburgh, Galfr^s Sewale, Wiſſs le Blunt c^oicus, Tho^m le Tavⁿ de Dockyng, Rog^s Fyk, Bnd^s fit Pet^o c^oici, Hen^o de Norton, Joh^s Godeman piscator, Cristiana ux^o Wiſſi le Brodere, Mich^s de Ely, Wiſſs le Parchemiⁿ, Wiſſs fit Gilbi le Brun, Rad^s Crestyen, Agⁿ ux^o Johes Olyve, Rob^s Fytel, Joh^s fit Johis le Lindrap, Joh^s Knot Juveⁿ, Rob^s fit Barthi de Lakenh^am, Simon le Paum^o p^oment^o, Gil^s de Shotesh^am,

³ The Dean has translated this (p. 37) "fell upon a man of the priory, and killed him."

Elias de Bures, Johs le Establer, Ričs le Tundur žviens Johis Ston, Robš de Akle capellano, Waring Capellano de poch sčī Olavi, Willš le Chaloh, Walš le Limberere, Thoñ Dudde, Gervasius Fullo de Dylh^m, Robš de Kancia, Hugo de Coventre, Marting Cok, Rogš le Feve, Robš Be junior, Willš de Belagh, Ričs fraš Pet' le Chapeler, Robš le Cotiller de Sadelgate, Rogš le Tavñ, Thoñ fil Pet' cici, Johs de Reynesthorp, Rogš de Walsh^m, Johs de Donewyco sutor, Barthš de Horsted, Eustach de Upton, Nichš de Typecroft, Johs de Swatheseud, Walšs fil' Wiſſi de Lophm, Rogš fil' Wiſſi le Chapeler de Hensted, Ričs le Bukler de Lond, Henš Curteys, Willš de Mulkeberton, Thoñ de Ketingh^m, Willš Colston Cordewan Ad de Hemenhale, Tundur Curteys žviens mağri Galfri le Brun, Ričs le Suur, Galfřs Norreis, Ričs le Suur, Galfřs le Suur, Thoñ fil Kaſne, Wiſſs Heved le Wyndrawere, [Willš Dyve Hugo fr] ejus obierunt] Ričs de Lodnijs, Johs Hundesson de Eylesh^m, Johs Bagge, carpentari9, Robš le Skypere, Ad le Tundur, Robš Pe quōdam žviens Wiſſi Pycot, Johs Rakesman, Wiſſs le Teler, Johs Pyeshank, Petro de Keresbrok, Robš de Northt quōdam žytes Wiſſi le Parchemiñ, Johs le Covur de poch Sčī Wynwolay, Herveus le Stabler, Nichš de Wychingh^m, Ričs de Sah^m sutor, Rogš de Heydon, Rogš le Tavñ, Johs de Staunton cordewan, Adam Davy de Caunteš, Robš Bonenfaunt, ſ Wiſſs fil' Thoñ de Heylesdon, ſ alij de cōmunitate pldce civitat' pldco p'oratui insultum dedeřt ſ ipm p'oratū combusseřt ſ thesaur' libros ſ alia ornařta ecclie ejusd' robbavřt. Et quosd' Rađm de Dunh^m, Ranulph frēm mağri Galfri le Keu, Wiſſm le Ussher, Thoñ le Cunte, Wiſſm de Baldewell, Joñem le Hunte, Joñem le Wayte de Jernemue, Rogm de Fyleby, Thoñ atte Holv de Gernemue, Reginald de Coq'na, Wiſſm Stalcard de Coq'na, Simōem de Scardeburgh ſ Thoñ de Kancia familiares ejusd' p'orato9 in eisđ invētis occideřt ſ decollavřt.

Et postea in adventū dñi Reğ H. in ptibz istis vidett ad

festum Exaltaōis S̄ce Crucis p^xo seq̄ns coram G. de Preston
 ⁊ sociis suis Justiċ dñi Reġ in p̄sencia ip̄ius dñi H. reġ
 p̄dci Galf̄rs de Brun, Steph̄s le Blunt, Rob̄s Bene capllan̄,
 Wal̄s Drak, Semann̄ Wyne, Thōm Mūne, Roḡs de
 Westoñ, Joh̄s le Blunt, B̄nd̄s le Chauċ, Rob̄s fil' Amabil,
 Thōm de Ottelegh, Henr^o Godal, Riċs Shepeseye, Joh̄s
 Moyses, Riċs de Acle, Nich̄s Busard, Barth̄s de Karlton,
 Joh̄s Olyve, Pet̄ Benne, Hugo Stule, Wiſs Mautild̄, Thōm
 Short, Henr^o fil' Capllani, Joh̄s de Spikesw̄rth, Wiſs le
 Messenger, Wal̄s de Dysce, Hugo Fynamus, B̄nd̄s fil Edm̄,
 Joh̄s B̄ndicite, Roḡs fil' Ede, Hervē Fytel, ⁊ Aḡn ūx Joh̄s
 Scot convicti fūūt de p̄dcis cōbusċ rob̄ia ⁊ homicid̄.

Et ōms p̄t̄ p̄dcos Galf̄rm le Brun, Steph̄m le Whyte ⁊
 Rob̄m Bene c̄licos qui librat̄ fūūt Roḡo quōdam Norwyċ
 Eps p̄ convict̄ distracti fūūt ⁊ s̄pensi ⁊ quid̄ eoꝝ cōbusti et
 caſ ⁊ eoꝝ teñ d̄cm est insens̄ (?) Et Joh̄s Buttesmuth ⁊
 ōms alij p̄dci cope p̄dco obt^axērt se. Et ōms iii^o solep̄ni^l
 vocati. Et nullus eoꝝ [pre^l p̄dcos Joh̄em Buttesmuth,
 Barth̄m de Tasburgh tann^r, Wal̄m f̄rem ejus Galf̄rm Sewal,
 Roḡm Fyke, B̄nd̄m fil Petⁱ c̄lici, Henr^o de Norton, Joh̄em
 Godeman piscatorē, Cristianā ux̄ Wiſs le Gredere, Raċm
 Crestyen, Aḡn ux̄ Joh̄is Olive, Rob̄m Fytel, Rob̄m fil'
 Barth̄i de Lakenham, Joh̄em le Stabler, Ric̄m le Tundur
 ⁊vientē Joh̄is Ston, ⁊ Joh̄em de Reynesthorp] venit s. p̄dc̄s
 Riċs Morit, Riċs le Bukler de London, Wiſs le Blunt (⁊)
 ōms alij obt^axērt se ⁊ iij^o solep̄ni^l vocati nō veñ ⁊ malctr^o
 idō ex^r ⁊ ut̄.

Catalla p̄dci Joh̄is de Donewyco v sol. unde viċ respōd.
 Et receptat̄ fuit sup̄ feod̄ caſ̄ exta dec^m idō in m̄ia.

Caſ̄ laica p̄dci Rob̄i de Acle capllani x^s. uñ i viċ respōd̄
 nō fuit in dec^a q; c̄lic̄o.

Caſ̄ p̄dci Willi Belagh xliij^d. uñ id̄ Viċ respōd̄. Et fuit
 (in dec^a ?) Riċi de Stalhā in Fysbriggegate idō in m̄ia.

Cataſ̄ p̄dci Joh̄is Boñ ij^s. x^d. Un id̄ viċ respōd̄. Et fuit
 in dec^a Nich̄i de Akle in Hosyergate idō in m̄ia.

Et alij nulla huērt catalla s. Willſ le Chalofn fuit in dec^a
Phi le Fraunceys de Coslane ido in mīa.

Et Walſ le Lymberme fuit in dec^a Ade Cawel in Coslane
ido in mīa.⁴

Rogſ le Feve	(Ađ de Badesened in Norwyco.)
Robſ le Pe junior	(Robi de Poswyke in sellaria.)
Riċs fil' Pet ⁱ capllar ^o	(Nichi de Akle capllar ^o .)
Robſ le Coteler	(Roland de Colneya in Norwyco.)
Rogſ le Taverh	(Willi Isend in eađ.)
Thoñ fil' Pet ⁱ cliċi	(Johis de Weston de Neugate.)
Rogſ de Walshm	(Ranulph le Blekste.)
Barths de Horsted	(Nichi de Akle in Norwyco.)
Eustach de Upton	(Johis de Ashwell.)
Nichs de Topecroft	(Augotini de Bungey.)
Johs de Swathesend ⁵	(Ađ de Knapeton.)
Walſ fil' Willi de	(Andr ⁱ de Bylth ^m .)
Lopham	
Rogſ fil' Willi le	(Johis de Ashwell in Norwyco.)
Chapeler	
Riċs le Bukler de	(Hermannis le Gaunt ⁱ in Norwyco.)
London	
Riċs fil' Riċi de Sto-	(Rađi Mudde in Norwyco.)
deye	
Riċus le Suur	(Johis de Disce in Norwyco.)
Galfrſ le Norreis	(Johis Woderoue in eađ.)
Galfrſ le Suur	(Humfrī Munisye in eađ.)
Thoñ fil' Katine	(Alani Barlysel.)
Wifſ Wyndrawere	(Thoñ le Chaundeler.)
Wifſ Dyve t Hugo	(Wifſi Galyt.)
fř ejus	
Riċs de Lond	(Hugōis Wigthard.)

⁴ The next entries are all in this form; so to save space I have merely given the names—the names of the “decenners” being in parentheses.

⁵ Query, de Swathefeud.

Joĥs Hundessone de (Henr^o Cubyt.)

Eyleshġ.

Joĥs Bagge Carpen- (Roger de Fremlyngham.)
tariġ

Robſ le Skyl (Wiffi de Sweynesthorp.)

Ađ le Tundur (Galfrġ Haraud.)

Robſ ſviens quōdam (Galfrġ Faderman.)

Wiffi Pycot

Wiffſ le Teler (Roġ Abbot.)

Robſ Pyeshank (Thoġ fil' Nichi de Coventre.)

Robſ de Norhđ quō- (Galfr^o Mannyng.)

dam ſviens Wiffi

le pchemiġ

Riċs de Saham sutor (Joĥis Raven.)

Thoġ de Kelyng (Roġi le Grey.)

ġ alij nō flūt in dec^a q, cici ġ vagabundi.

POSTEA testat^o est qđ pđcūs Riċs Moryt hūit caſ scitt
xviij^a. Uñ viċ respond. Et qđ ipe siml cū pđcis Wiffi le
Blunt, Herveū clerġ ġ Bndes fil' Petⁱ cici alias capti flūt
ġ tđċti flūt p ple usq. Et
(Vin)centiġ de Kyrkeby, Henr^o de Bradesend, Joĥs de
Rupun, Wiffſ de Cogeshal, ġ Thoġ de Hoo, maġ pđċ
. Moryt ido in mġa. Et Hūfrſ de Betreton,
Gilbs de Wychyngham, Ernald Pese, Joĥs de Fornset,
Simō de ford, Simō de Runhal, Roġs de
Penteney, Riċs de Fornset, ġ Joĥs le Tavġ, maġ pđċm
Wiffm de Bl(unt non?) huert iġm ido in mġa. Et Riċs
de Cheyney, Elured de Stiberde, Henr^o le Burġ, Roġ fil'
Radi de Hederset, ... stratton chaundeler, Reginald de
Antinghġ, Walſ Gamaġ, Jġs de Massangham, Robſ le
Escot, Seman Hornaylip, (et?) Galfrſ Stute, maġ p đċm
Herveū CACHEDEU ido in mġa. Et Joĥs le Celiġ, Mich de
Horseye, Henr^o le Peletⁱ, Wiffſ Sⁿthorp, Wiffſ de Causton, ġ
Riċs de Wykh^m maġ pđċm Bndċm fil Petⁱ ido in mġa . . .

Messer iij^o solēpnit^r vocat⁹ non veñ s. obt^{xt} se p morte
 p̃dci Ade de Neuton t̃ maletri ids exā t̃ uñl in dec^a
 s; fuit de manūp Wiñi de Brūh^m p̃oris qⁱ obiit.

13.

Ibid. dors. mem. 72.

Adhuc de Civitati Norwyč.

De fugitivis dicūt qđ Johs Buttesmuth, Barth̃s de Tasburgh Tannur, Walts fr ejus, Ričs Mors, Herveus Cachedew qui obiit, Robs de Tasburgh q̃ obiit, Galfr̃s Sewale, Wiñs le Blunt clicus, Thoñ le Tavñ de Dockyng, Rog^s Fyk, Bñdčs fil Petⁱ clici, Henr^o de Norton, Johs Godesmā piscator, Cristiana que fuit ūx Wiñi le gredere, Nichs de Ely qui obiit, Wiñs le Parchemenⁱ qui obiit, Wiñs fil Gilbi le Brun qui obiit, Račs Crestyen, Agñ ūx Johis Olyve, Robs Fytale, Johs fil Johis le Liñdrap qui obiit, Johs Knot junior qⁱ obyt, Robs fil Barthi de Lakenh^m, Simon le Paumⁱ pmentⁱ, Gilbs de Shotesh^m, Elias de Bures, Johs le Establer, t̃ Ričs le Tundur žvičs Johis Ston obt̃xer̃ se p cōbustiōe ecclie S̃ci Tr̃initatⁱ Norwyco, t̃ p homicidⁱ t̃ robijis fc̃is in ead qū dño rex ultimo veñ in ptibz istis post feloñ p̃dcas ibid fc̃as. Et p̃tea p lapsū tēpis redier̃. Qui modo veñ et requisiti qualif se velint de p̃dcis feloñ aq̃etare. Defend cōbustiōem feloñ homicidⁱ t̃ q^otq̃d est cont^a pacem, t̃c. Et dicūt qđ ipi oñs sūt de Civitate Norwyče t̃ civis in ead et qđ dñs Rex qui nūc est remisit eis^d civibz oñs tñsgressōes f̃ca p̃ori t̃ convētus t̃ ecclie s̃ci Trinitatⁱ de Norwyco. Et pfer̃ cartam ipig dñi Reg̃ in hec ṽba. “Edward dei grā, t̃c, omibz, t̃c, salē Sciaⁱ qđ de grā ñra speciali reddidim⁹ civibz ñris de Norwyco eam^d civitatem cum p̃tiñ que occasiōe t̃nsgressiōis quam in cōbusciōe ecclie conuētual ejus^d Civitatⁱ fecisse dicebant^r capta fuit in mañ dñi H. Reg̃ pr̃is ñri t̃ quam nos post mortem d̃ci pr̃is ñri eis cōmissiōñ tenēdī ad

voluntatem nram que t nup capta fuit in manū nram p quādam tnsgr^o quā fecisse dicebāt^r capiendo latrones t aliis malefcores in civitate pldca p quibusdam tnsgr^o ex^a eād civitatē fcs et de eis iud^o faciendo in ead^a quas qd tnsgressioēs p eosd^a Civies sic fcs ipis total^r remittim^o Hnd^a t tenēdam eam^a Civitatē cum eis^a libtatibz t libis consuetudinibz quibz eam^a raconabili^r tenūut añ capcōnes pldcas Reddendo inde p annū ad soc^m nrm centū t octo libras blancas de antiq^a firma t quadraginta sol^o de incremto firme pldci Volentes t concedentes p nob^a t hered^a nris qd pldci cives t hered^a sui hēant t teneant deceto eam^a civitatem cum libtatibz t libris consuetudinibz suis pldcis imppetuū ut pldcm est. In cui^o rei test^r lrās nros fieri fecim^o patentes T. me ipo apd Westm xxvij die Maij anno r^o nⁱ tertia decimo.”

Et qz pldci Johs Buttesmuth t alij indictati sūt de combustioē homicidⁱ t robia pldcis t pldcā cartā nullam facit menconem de aliquo homicidio robia vt felon^a nⁱ tantūmodo de tnsgressioē cōbustiois ecclie pldce ido ipi remittūr gayol quousq^e, t^c. Et qz testatum et p xij qd pldci Johs Buttesmuth t cōms alij alias sbt^axer^t se p homicidⁱ cōbuscioē t robia pldcis catalla eo^r confiscant^r. Ca^t pldci Johis Buttesmuth iiij^a. Uñ vi^o respond. Ca^t pldci Barthi de Tasburgh di m. Uñ id^a vi^o respond. Catalla pldci Walt^r de Tasburgh L^a. Uñ id^a vi^o respōd. Cata^t pldci Galfrī Sewald v^a. Uñ id^a vi^o respond. Cata^t pldci Rogi Fyke xvij^d. Uñ id^a vi^o respond. Cata^t pldci Johi Godeman ij^a. vj^d. Uñ id^a vi^o r^o. Cata^t pldci Wiffi le Parchemiⁿ ix^a. id^a vi^o r^o. Cata^t pldci Johis Knotte Junioris xv^a. vij^d. (No respond.) Ca^t pldci Nichi de Ely x li d^m id^a vi^o respond. Ca^t pldci Elureni le Gaunt dī m. Uñ id^a vi^o respoñ.

De eod^a vi^o de ca^t Johis fil And^o de Hengham s^opensi v^a. vj^d.

De laycis ca^t ma^gr Galfr^o le Brun cⁱci convicti
iiij^h. xiiij^a. ix^d.

De caſ Riči de Potenham s9 xvij^d.

Johis Maunchef s9 xvj^d.

Isabell Sturnoyse s9 ix^d.

Emme de Thorpmarket s9 xvij^d.

Robi Hervi s9 xij^d.

Walſi de Kyrketon in Hoylaund s9 xv^d.

Galfr^o de Wymūdhm s9 iiij^s. iiij^d.

Henr^o de Brisewrth s9 xx^d.

Hen^o Bryth de Hapeton s9 vj^d.

Barthi Jay de Fransh^m s9 xv^d.

Mathi Duttecunte de Warr^o s9 xij^d.

Nichi Mannyng de Drayton s9 xij^d.

Johis Cado s9 xv^d.

Mabil de Petteneye s9 xij^d.

Johis de Stratton s9 x^d.

Johis fil Nichi le Thressher^o s9 xvij^d.

Henr^o fil' Ađ de Ludynglond s9 xij^d.

Johis de Mundh^m s9 ij^s.

Johis Gulle s9 xvij^d.

De laycis caſ Stephi le Blunt clīci convicti v^s.

Walſ Drake s9 vij^s. vj^d.

Rođi de Wesn s9 iiij^s.

Bndci le Chauċ s9 viij^s.

Thoñ de Okle s9 xvij^s.

Henr^o Godale s9 xx^s.

Henr^o Shepeseye s9 vij^s. iv^d.

Robi fil Amabil s9 di m.

Barthi de Karleton s9 xx^d.

Johis Olive s9 xij^d.

Witi Mauhtild s9 xiiij^d.

Thoñ Short s9 xv^s.

Johis de Spikeswrth s9 vj^s. iiij^d.

Witi le Messag^o s9 viij^d.

Hugōis Fynam^s s9 viij^d.

Bndci fit Edm s9 ix^s.

Hervei Fyter s9 xix^s. iiij^d.

Miscellanea of the Exchequer, bundle 900.

H. E. H. No. 3309.

Inquisitiō fca de cataſſ ⁊ tenementis dampnat⁹ ⁊ fugitivor⁹ occasiē combustionis Ecclē Scē Trinitatis Norwiĉ p subscriptos videliꝝ p Wiſſm Picot, Robm de Asewardeby, Johem le Graunt, Robtum de Westoñ, Wiſſm de Knapeton, Johem de Postwick, Ad le Graunt, Riĉm Plinling, Willm de Welles, Huĉtum de Morleya, Hurĉtum le Tanur, ⁊ Roĉm de Donewico.⁶ Dicunt sup sac^umentū suū quod Herveg Fitile dampnat⁹ hūit quoddā mēs in Norwico quod tenuit de Robto de Capetuñ de 3ve p x^s p aññ nec aliquid valet ult^a ad op⁹ dñi Regⁱ. Vastū apreciat⁹ fuit ad v m^{re} ⁊ iiij^d. ⁊ p tanto vendit dco Robto. Uñ Herveg de Stanhowe ⁊ Hug^o Peche tunc custodes Norwiĉ respondebunt.

Id H. Fitile hūit in cataſſ xxvij^s ⁊ viij^d. de quibꝫ p̄dci H. Peche ⁊ Henr⁹ de Stanhawe respond^t.

It Pet⁹ de Kerebrock fugitivus hūit quoddam mēs in Norwico quod tenuit de Hospitali de Bec p xij^d. p aññ ⁊ apreciat⁹ ult^a ij^d. p aññ ad op⁹ dñi Regⁱ. Uñ Johēs le Lindrap de Norwico ⁊ Rog^o Lyard respondebūt.

It Johes Drake dampnat⁹ hūit quamdā domū in Norwico quam tenuit de Henr⁹ de Heylesdon p iiij^s. p aññ nec valet aliquid ult^a ad op⁹ dñi Regⁱ. Vastū apreciat⁹ ad iiij^s. Uñ Id H. debet responde.

It Wal^{ter}us Drake dampnat⁹ hūit quoddam mēs in Norwico quod tenuit de Hospitali de Bec p xvj^d. p aññ ⁊ valet ult^a ij^s. p aññ ad op⁹ dñi Regⁱ. Uñ de G^onem^u respondebit. Vastū apreciat⁹ fuit ad j m^{re}cā. Und H. Peche ⁊ H. de Stanhowe tūc custodⁱ Norwiĉ debent responde.

Id Wal^{ter}us Drake hūit in cataſſ vj^s. ⁊ vj^d. de quibꝫ p̄dci custodes debent responde.

⁶ Qui ?

It magist^r Steph^s le Blund clič⁹ hūit quoddam mēs in Norwico in pochia s^ci Edwardi quod tenuit de Abbē de Rameseye p v sol p ann⁹ t valet ult^a ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹ p ann⁹. Uñ Ađ fil' Robti Wenge respondebit. Vastū aprecia^t ad c sol. Uñ d^cus Abbas de Ramseye debet responde.

Id magist^r Steph^s hūit aliud mēs in Norwico in vico de Coselania quod tenuit de dⁿo Roke p uno oblo p ann⁹ t valet p ann⁹ ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹ di m^r Ađ le Vilur tenet illud s^z quo warranto nescim⁹.

Id ma^gr Steph^s hūit in catañ dī m^rc. Uñ H. Peche t H. de Stanhowe tūc custodes Norwič⁹ respond.

It Wi^lls le Pcheviln fugitivus hūit quoddam mēs in Norwico in pochia s^ce Mar⁹ pve quod tenuit de Semanno Grim de Hech^m p ij^s. t j^d. p ann⁹ t valet ult^a ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹ ij^s. p ann⁹. Uñ Alex' de lo Sarcrin t ux' ej⁹ respōd.

Id Wi^lls hūit in catañ ix^s. de quib^z Ro^gus clericus coronator t Wi^lls Fab⁹ respond.

It Tho^m Scort hūit quoddā mēs in Pōch S^ci Johis de Madamarket quod tenuit de Simone le Cunte p xvj^d. p annū t valet ult^a xij^d. p ann⁹ ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹. Uñ d^cus Simō respond.

Id Tho^m habuit unū mesuagiū in poch S^ci Andr⁹ quod tenuit de tenuit de Hospič⁹ Normanū p ij^s. p ann⁹ t valet ult^a ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹ p ann⁹ xij^d. Uñ ma^gr Hospič⁹ Normanū respond.

It Id Tho^m hūit in d^ca poch unū mesuagiū jux^a p^dc^m mēs quod tenuit (de?) Elemosinar⁹ Norwič⁹ p iij sol. p ann⁹ t valet ult^a xij^d. p ann⁹ ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹. Uñ d^cus Elemosinar⁹ respond. Vastū aprecia^t fuit ad x^s. de quib^z de quib^z (*sic*) d^cus Ele^m respond.

It Petr⁹ Benne dampnat⁹ hūit quoddam mēs in Norwico quod tenuit de Pⁱoratu Norwič⁹ p ij^s. t vj^d. p ann⁹ t valet ult^a ad op⁹ dⁿi Reg⁹ p ann⁹ xij^d. Uñ d^cus pⁱor t convent⁹ respond. Vastū apreciat⁹ fuit x^s. d^cus pⁱor t convent⁹ debent responde.

Iť Johes le Blund dampnat9 hũit unũ mesuagiũ 7 duas scoppas ex oposito dci mēs in poch Sđi Edmundi in Norwico quod tenuit de Ađ le Blund p uno clavo gariophir9 p anũ 7 valent p anũ ad op9 dñi Reg9 x^a. Un Ađ le Blund debet responde qui illud mēs 7 scořp tenet quo warranto nescim9.

Iđ Johes hũit in catt in solda sua ix^a. 7 iij ob. de quib9 Johes Nade respond.

Iť Iđ Johēs hũit in catař iij^a. 7 vj^d. de quib9 Rog9 clic9 coronatar respond.

Iť Iđ Johēs hũit unũ fardelũ de panno liũ 7 alijs mercand de pćio nescim9 valorem q illud fardelũ remansit penes H. Peche 7 H. de Stanhowe tũc custodes Norwić p quo p . . . dci fardeli nō potint iquir9.

Iť Thoř de Etele dampnat9 hũit in catař xvij^a. de quib9 pđci H. 7 H. custodes respondebũt. [Sed credit qđ val xx^{li}.]

Iť Henr9 Godale dampnat9 hũit in catař iij^a. 7 vj^d. de quib9 Walřus le Skousere 7 Rog9 le Marchal respond.

Iť Ric. Sibeti dampnat9 hũit unũ mēs in Norwico quod tenuit de Rog9 fil' Cařlli p iij^a. p anũ nō valet aliqd ult^a ad op9 dñi Reg9. Vastũ apreciatũ fuit iij^a. Un dcs Rog9us respondebit.

Iť Rić hũit in catař xl^d. de quib9 pđcũ H. Peche 7 H. de Stanhowe tũc custodes debent responde.

Iť Robs fil' Amabilie dampnat9 hũit in catař xxv^a. 7 iijj^d. de quib9 de Galfridus le Ceyntur9 fr9 ei9d Robti respond.

Iť Barthol. de Carleton dampn hũit in catař xx^d. de quib9 H. de Stanhow 7 H. Peche respond.

Iť Johes Slive dcs le Barbur hũit in catt xij^d. de quib9 pđci H. de Stanhowe 7 H. Peche respond.

Iť Rog9us de Weston dampnat9 hũit in catař iij^a. de quib9 pđci H. 7 H. custodes respondebũt.

Iť Magr9 Galfridus le Brun hũit 9ram 7 tenemũtũ in villa de Snaringe s9 qui illud tenet nescim9 val p anũ C^a.

Iť Walřus de Disse dampnat9 hũit in catař vij^d. de quib9 pđci H. 7 H. custodes Norwic. respond.

Iť Willſ le Meſag² hūit in cataſt viij^d. de quibz p^odei H. 7 H. reſpond.

Johēs Finam⁹ dampnat⁹ hūit in cataſt viij^d. de quibz p^odei H. 7 H. reſpond.

Iť Johes de Spikeswrthe dampnat⁹ hūit in cataſt vij^a. 7 iij^d. de quibz p^odei H. 7 H. custodes reſpondebūt.

Iť Johes Benin fugitivus hūit in cataſt ij^a. 7 x^d. ob. de quibz Galfridus de Costinoble reſpond.

Iť Johes de Aslacton fugi² hūit in cataſt ij^a. Uñ Nichs de Loph^m civis Norwi² reſpond.

Iť Ric. Moris fug² hūit in cataſt vij^a. de quibz Vincenci⁹ de Kirkeby 7 Henr⁹ de Bradefeud reſpond.

Iť id Rič hūit in cataſt iij^a. 7 vj^d. de quibz Wiſſe de Kogesale de Norwico reſpond.

Iť Robs de Acle caſillo fugitivus hūit in cataſt ix^a. de quibz Willſ de Yelv⁹ton de Norwico reſpond.

Iť Johes But fugitivus hūit in cataſt 1 m^{re}cam. Uñ Amicia But ux dci Joh reſpond.

Iť Semman⁹ Wynne dampnat⁹ nich hūit in bonis.

Iť Thoñ Munne dañnat⁹ nich.

Iť Nich Busard damnat⁹ nich.

Iť Walſus Bñdicite dāpnat⁹ nich.

Iť Bñdcus fil' Edm̃ nich.

Iť Johēs Bñdicite dāpnat⁹ nich.

Iť Nichs Kasem⁹ dāpnat⁹ nich.

Iť Hugo Stive (query, Slive) dampnat⁹ nich.

Bñdcus le Chaucer dampnat⁹ nich.

Johes Morse dampn nich.

Iť Ric. de Acle nich.

Iť Henr⁹ fil' caſilli nich.

Iť Robs Bene capſſs nich.

Iť Rog² fil' Odōn nich.

Iť Añn ux⁹ Johis Scot nich.

Iť Will. Mathechild dāpnat⁹ nich.

Sñ^a p̃dcoz catalloz xliiij^{li} xix^a 7 t ij^d.

[*Endorsed*]. Inquisiçō f̄ca cataſt ⁊ tenement
dampnatoꝝ ⁊ fugitoꝝ ocçōne com-
bustionis ec̄ce S̄ce Trinitat̄ Nor-
wyci, ⁊c.

[*In another hand*]. Dominus dixit ad me filius meus.

15.

*From an undated fragment of a Norwich Coroner's
Roll (marked A.)*

Inquisiçōne f̄ca de igne posito in Judaismo. Diç qđ
Simon Quitloc posuit ignē. Robt̄o Scoth fregit arcā qñdam
in eadē domo iventā. Scot̄ iuiens Herbt̄i Sutoris asportavit
qñdā ptē cataſt ibidē inven̄t̄. Reginald̄o Wanbakin pistor
fregit dom̄ p̄d̄cūm. Diç ⁊ qđ Steph̄s Chiken fuit socio
p̄d̄ci Simōis Quitloc ad ignē ponend̄. Diç ⁊ qđ Wil̄s Hodis
⁊ Rad̄s Muddok fregerūt domū Jud̄i ubi ignis nō fofedit.
P̄cep̄t̄ fuit attachiare p̄d̄cōs felones t̄miatū fuit p̄ justū dñi
Reḡ s. Rob. de Fulham.⁷

16.

Norwich Coroner's Roll, 56 Hen. III.⁸

"In the year 56 it happened that John Casmus was found
slain, on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Lawrence,
[16 August] by William de Brunham, Prior of Norwich, at
the Gates of St. Trinity, on the eastern side, the said prior
having struck him with a certain fauchone on the head,
from which blow he instantly died. The Coroners are
unable to make inquisition from fear of a felonious assault."

⁷ Not mentioned in Foss.

⁸ This roll is now unluckily lost; but I can safely quote from Mr. Harrod's
translation of the entry at p. 273 of vol. ii. of the *Norfolk Archaeology*.

17.

The "old roll" once among the city records and quoted by Blomefield at p. 55 of his third volume, is now most unluckily not to be found. I therefore give *verbatim* what he says it contains. It is said by Blomefield to be at fo. 127 of the *Book of Charters*, but diligent search by Dr Jessopp, to whom for this and much else I am greatly indebted, failed to produce any result.

"The old roll says certain friars preachers and nuns were sent to the Prior for peace after the Citizens assembled, and by agreement each party chose a clerk and a layman arbitrators, who made an agreement of peace with the City and sealed it with their common seal; but the Prior would not seal it with the Chapter seal, but with his own private seal, and that so enraged the people that it occasioned all the mischief. The same roll also says that the Sunday before this began there came from Yarmouth and other places by the Prior's procuring, three barges full of enemies against the town, with guns, bows, and arrows, and other weapons; and when they came under the town they beat their drums and sounded their trumpets, which vexed and exasperated the townsmen; and when these recreants were in the Priory it is said they fired three houses near the Gray Friars, and burnt them down." "The old roll says that many said that the men of the priory and other townes that they had got to help them were in the high steeple or clocher, and had a fire therein, and when the townsmen assaulted the gates they went down to save and defend the belfry, and by negligence left the fire behind them in the high steeple, church, and dortar."

From the 3rd mem. of a Roll in the Guildhall at Norwich, (mentioned by Harrod at p. 276 of vol. ii., Norfolk Archæology.)

De utlagatis ⁊ fugativis ⁊ si quis redierit post utlaḡ ⁊ fugā sine waranto. Dñt qđ de utlaḡ nichil sciunt set de fugativis reṽsis dñt qđ Johes Buttesmuth [or uch], Barth̃s de Thaseburgh tannator ⁊ Walto fr^o ejus Riċs Mori; [Carhowe],⁹ Herveus Gacgedeu,¹ Rob̃ de Haseburgh s; mortuus est, Galfr̃s Sewale, Wiſſs le Blund cīcus, Thoñ Taverner de Dokkinge, Rog̃s Fike, Bened̃s fil' Petⁱ cīci, Henr^o de Neicton, Johs Godesman piscator, Cristiana ux[]] Wiſſi le Gredere, Wiſſs le Pchemyñ, Wiſſs fil' Gilbti le Brun, Rad̃s Xpien ux. Agñ (*sic*) ux. John P . . . , Rob̃s Fitele, Joh̃ fil' Joh le Lindrap, Joh Knot junior, Rob̃s fil' Barthi de Lakenham, Simon le Palmere,² Gilbs de Shotesham, Elyas de Bury, Johs Stabler. Omnes isti indictati fuerunt corā G. de Preston ⁊ sociis suis de combustione ⁊ Rob̃s ⁊ postea redierunt qui idem Gilbs fecit pelañ qđ omnes qui vellet venire ad pacem admissi ⁊ invenire pleḡ standi recto ⁊ [blank].³

Et Rob̃s de Akle cap̃ſs, Warinus cap̃ſs poch sc̃i Olavi, Wiſſs le Chaluñ, Walts le Lymbere, Thoñ Dudde, Gerṽs Fullo de Dilham, Rob̃s de Kancia, Hugo de Coventr^o, Marting Kok, Rog̃us Faber, . . . Wiſſs de Belhawe cīcus, Riċus fil' Petri le Chapeler, Rob̃s le Cutele de Sadelgate, Rog̃s le Tavner fil' Petri cīci [Neugate], Johes de Reynesthorp cīcus, Rog̃s de Walsham, Johes de Donewico sutor [de feod̃ castr], Barth de H . . . Eustachius de Upton, Niċs de Topecroft, Johes de Swathefeud, Wal^t fil Wiſſi de

⁹ Interlined.

¹ Probably the same name as Cachedeu, which occurs before.

² In margin—Ric's le Tundr.

³ In margin--De t̃ns fc's ecc'ie Sc'i Trinitatis.

Lopham, R Wiffr le Chapeler de Hensted, Ričs le Bukler de London, Henr⁹ Curteys clicus, Wiffr de Mulketon ſvičs Mağri Galfrī le Brun, Ričs fil' Riči de Stodeye clicus, Ričs Sutor, Galfr⁹ Noreys clicus, Galfr Thom fil Katine clicus, Wiffr Heved Wyndrawere, Wiffr Dyne, Hugo fr⁹ ejus Ričs de London, ... Hundessone de Eylesham, Johes Dogge carpentar⁹, Robts le Skippe, Ad le Tundur, Ričs fit Wiffr Robs Pe quondam ſviens Wiffr Picot, Johes Raggesmā, Wiffr le Seler, Robs Petr⁹ de Kerebrok clicus, Robs de Northampton, Johes le Cunur de poch Sči Wynewaley, Herveus Nichs de Wichingham cler⁹, Ričus de Selhus (?) sutor Rogus de Heydon, Rogus le Tevner Ketryngham indictati fuerunt de eisdem tnsgr⁹ t fuğ s; nūcq^a redierunt.

19.

From the 4th mem. of the same Roll, of which however it did not originally form part.

Wiffr le Pchemin fuğ p combustione Ecclie Sče Trinitat⁹ huit catalla ad vał ix^s. Unde Walfrs de Sweynesthorp, Walfrs le Mareschal, Robs de Lincoln t Rogs le Mareschal r⁹. Et fuit in decenna Regiñ Grey.

Johs Godesman fuğ p ead tns H. catalla ad val ij^s t vj^d. Unde Wiffr de Dere, Robs Waxmögere, Thom le Cuner t Rađs de Dodewyk r⁹ t fuit in decenna Henr⁹ Cubyt.

Galfrs Sewale h catalla ad vał v^s. Uñ Johs de Bate, Henr⁹ Makale, Robs de Runhale, t Gregor⁹ de Upton r⁹ t fuit in decenna Wiffr de Brok.

Rič Moriž h catalla ad vał xvij^s. vj^d. Uñ Rogs de Wyleby Vinč de Kyrkeby, Henry de Bradefeld, Johs de Ripun, Wiffr de Cogeshale t Thom de Ho r⁹ t fuit in decenna in parva Newegate ubi p^oorissa de Newegate clañ hre visū franc pleğ.

Johs Knot junior h caſ ad valenċ xv^e ʔ tʹdita fūunt Riċō Botman qui eið Johi eað caſ delibavitʹ p p̃ceptū dñi r^o nō in decenna qz chicus.

Thoñ le Tavernier h caſ ad vaſ iij^e. ʔ vj^d. Uñ Johs de Erlih^m ʔ Stepħs de Brakne r^o ʔ fuit in decenna Ernaldi Peſe.

Roġs Fike h catalla ad vaſ xvij^d. Uñ Johs de Bergh, Peter le Tundur ʔ Ernaldus de Weston r^o ʔ fuit in decenna in decenn^a (sic) Galfrī de Derham.

Robs de Acle cap̃tis h caſ ad valenċ x^e. Uñ Benedċs Pakke ʔ Rañs Blakberd r^o ʔ Wiſſo de Yelvtōn.

Robs de Taseburg in decenna in Newegate nuſt h caſſ.

Johnes But hſ caſſ ad valenċ xxx^d. Unde [blank] ʔ fuit in decenna Robti de S. Edmō lorin.

Walſs de Taseburg hſ caſſ ad valenċ [blank] ʔ fuit in decenna Riċi de Ringelond fabri.

Barth̃s de Tasburg hūit caſ ad valenċ ʔ fuit in decenna Roġi de Lenn.

Herveus Gagedeu fuit in decen^a [Johis le Panyur qui mortuus et ʔ om̃es in decenne ſimilitʹ]. Að Lomb ʔ nuſt hūit caſſ.

Robs de Taseburg^o fuit in decenñ in Newegate ubi Prior S. Tⁿitatis clañ viſ franc^o pleġ caſ nulla.

Henr^o de Norton est in decen^a ʔ nuſt hūit caſſ ʔ est capitaſ pleġ.

Riċs de Ho est in decenna Martiñ de Tudenh^m nuſt hūit caſſ.

Rads Criſtion est in decenna Johis Em fullon ʔ nuſt hūit caſſ.

Robts Fitele est in decenna Robti de Donewyc ʔ nuſt hūit caſ.

Robs de Lakenh^m in decenñ Að de Aldeby ʔ nuſt huit caſſ.

Johnes Stabler in decenñ Thoñ de Lundr^o chaundeler ʔ nuſt caſſ.

Simon le Paum^o pmen^o in decenn^o in Newegate ⁊ nuft
hūit caſſ.

Gilbt de Schotisham in deceñ Að le Graun^t ⁊ mortuus est.

Witts le Chalouⁿ in decenna Phi le Fraunceys ⁊ nuft caſ^a.

Elyas de Buris cñicus caſſ nuft.

Walſ le Limberere in deceñ Að Catel ⁊ nuft h^t caſſ.

Thoñ Dudde cñicus

Robts de Kancia cñicus } [blank.]

Gervās Fulle de Dilham manens in Hech^m.

Huğ de Coventr^o cñicus ⁊ nuft hūit caſſ.

Martiñ Koc in deceñ in Newegate nuft caſſ.

[Johs de Aslacton carpentar^o h^t caſſ ij^a. ⁊ est in decenna.

Galfrī Mannyğ unde N. de Lopp^ham respondeb.]⁴

Roğ le Feve in deceñ Að de Bradefeud null h^t caſſ.

Robt le Be junior in decenn^o Robti de Possewik nuft
h^t caſſ.

Robt le Cutiler in decenna Rodlandi de Colneye nuft
h^t caſſ.

Roğs le Taverner in deceñ Wittⁱ fit Riçi Piscenar^o nuft
h^t caſſ.

Roğs de Walsham in deceñ Rañ le Blecstere nuft h^t caſ.

Barth de Horsted in dec^a Nichi de Acle nuft h^t caſſ.

Eustacius de Hupton in dec^a Johis de Hassewelle.

Nich de Thopecroft in dec^a Augotini de Bungeye.

Joh de Swatefeud in dec^a Ade de Baketon nuft ht caſſ.

Wal^t fil^o Wittⁱ de Lopham in dec^a Andr^o de Biltham.

Roğ fil^o Wittⁱ le Chapiller in dec^a Johis de Hassewelle.

Riç le Bukeler de Lond^t in dec^a Hⁱmanñ le Gaunter.

Riç Sutor in dec^a Johis de Disce.

Galfr^o Sutor in dec^a Hunfr^o Munyoie.

Witt Dine in dec^a Wittⁱ Galiğ.

Huğ Dine in dec^a ejodm^o Wittⁱ.

Riç de London^o in dec^a Huğis Wyzard.

⁴ Interlined.

Joh Hundissone de Hailesham in dec^a Henr^o Cubith.
 Joh Bagge carpentar^o in dec^a Roġi de F^ameingham.
 Robt le Skippe in dec^a Walⁱ de Sweinesthorp.
 [Pet^o de Kybrok cler^o.
 Nich de Witchingham cler^o.
 Joh Faggelman cler^o.]⁵
 Að le Tundur in dec^a Galfr^o Harald.
 Riċ fil^o Wiſi le Tundur cler^o.
 Robt^o Pe in dec^a Galfr^o Faderman.
 Wiſi le Seler in dec^a Roġi Abot.
 Robt Pⁱchissemeke in dec^a Thomⁱ fil^o Nich de Covetre.
 Robt^o de Norhampeton in dec^a Robti Justice.
 Joh le Tuvur de paroch S^ci Wynewaley dⁿa p^rorissa de
 Carewe tenet ibi letā sce, 7c.
 H^oveus le Stabler in dec^a Galfr^o Mañing.
 Riċ de Saham sutor in dec^a Johis Raven.
 Roġ de Heidon in dec^a Regiⁿ le Grey.
 Th de Ketingeham cler^o.

On the dorse there is this only :—

Johs Bon fugitivus h^ut caſſ ad valienċ xxxiiij^d. und G.
 de Costinoble r^o 7 est in dec^a Roġi de Hahill capellar^o.

20.

Bartholomew de Cotton, pp. 421 to 427.

In ista bulla continetur causa secundā⁶ combustionis ecclesiæ Norwycensis.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Londoniensi et Eliensi episcopis salutem et apostoli-

⁵ Interlined.

⁶ The first burning was in 1171-2, as recorded by Barth. de Cotton and Wharton. Blomefield and Dean Goulburn have not noticed this trifling occurrence.

cam benedictionem. Habet dilectorum filiorum prioris et conventus Norwicensis ecclesiæ gravis ad nos prolata querela, quod universitas Norwicensis enormitate detestabilium excessuum se involvens, in eam prorupit furoris audaciam quod cum quidam laici, quos multitudo civium Norwycensium querebat ad mortem, a facie prosequentium fugientes, se in eorum monasterio instantis vitandi causa periculi receptassent, cives prædicti, concessa ecclesiis immunitate calcata, idem monasterium ausu temerario invadentes, eorum ecclesiam in honore Sancti Ethelberti constructam, sitam infra septa monasterii memorati, elemosinariam quoque ac portus cimiterii ejusdem loci, præsumptione temeraria imfregerunt. Cumque venerabilis frater noster Norwicensis episcopus memoratos cives propter hujusmodi excessus canonica monitione præmissa interdicti et excommunicationis sententiis innodasset, memorata universitas, et specialiter Nicholaus de Ely, Willelmus de Donewyco, Adam le Hespiter, Rogerus de Swerdestone, rectores civitatis ipsius, qui ballivi vulgariter nuncupantur, necnon magister Johannes le Brun clericus Norwicensis, Robertus de Conventre, Hugo filius ejus, Johannes Knot junior, Willelmus le Cunte, Walterus Knot, Hugo Scissor, Johannes Nade, Adam de Tostes, Simon le Palmere, Johannes Lestot, Willelmus Payn, Thomas de Carlstone, Paulus dictus Benedicite, Johannes dictus le Graunt, et Henricus de Heylesdone cives Norwicenses, quorum consilio eadem universitas tunc temporis regebatur, ex hoc et pro eo, quod dicti laici fuerunt in eodum monasterio receptati, commoti graviter conceperunt dolorem; iniquitatem, ut ex eventu apparuit, parituri. De ipsius namque monasterii finali exterminio dolosa inuentes consilia, ea juramentis et aliis variis colligationibus robararunt; et demum omnibus de universitate prædicta, qui duodecimum suæ ætatis annum exegerant, voce præconia et per campanæ sonum ad extremum ipsius monasterii convocatis exterminium, universitas ipsa hostilibus insultibus in monasterium

predictum insiliit; et tandem ipsum bello diutino impetitur, nec amplius per suos domesticos propriæ defensionis sufficiens, ausu damnabili occupans, nec sacrilegium execrans, nec incendiariorum pœnas abhorrens, ecclesiam, prædictam et etiam cathedralem, campanilia cum campanis, dormitorium, refectorium, infirmarium, camerariam, sacristiam, aulam hospitum deputatam hospitalitatis officio, cæterasque ipsius monasterii officinas, et, ut excessus immensi brevis verbi mensura claudantur, monasterium ipsum totum, sacramentum altaris in diversis locis cum multa veneratione reconditum, venerandas reliquias, libros, sacra vasa aurea et argentea, candelabra, vestes, et alia ornamenta ecclesiastica, quæ inibi ad cultum divinum exsequendum celebrius habebantur, infesto incendio concremarunt, quibusdam depositis et quampluribus aliis bonis quæ potuerunt ab incendio hujusmodi præservari, furtivis manibus non sine reatu sacrilegii asportantes quampluribus clericis et laicis in monasterio prælibato, nonnullis in ecclesia supradicta aliquibus etiam in cimiterio ipsius ecclesiæ sine delectu dignitatis et ordinis immaniter in ore gladii trucidatis, quibusdam etiam quos intra dicta ejusdem monasterii septa captos, exinde per violentiam extraxerunt, prolata in eos de facto sententia capitis, subjectis suplicio capitali, præfato nihilominus conventu alias obprobriis diversis affecto, et gravissimis contumeliis lacessito, aliquibus ex monachis ipsius conventus verberatis atrociter ac alias tractatis immaniter, et nonnullis metu mortis ab ipso monasterio effugatis, propter quod episcopus memoratus prudenter attendens, quod excessus hujusmodi adeo erant notorii quod se omnium oculis ingerentes reos sua evidentia convincebant; universitate ipsa canonice monita, ut de præmissis satisfaceret, nec pretendente aliquid rationabile quare id facere non deberet, sed contumaciter satisfacere denegante, civitatem Norwycensem ecclesiastico supposuit interdicto.

Quia iidem prior et conventus ad tantæ temeritatis excessus quos in partibus illis facti evidentia et jam quasi

communis undique assertio publicat, insumandos aptius nobis super illis patentes litteras venerabilium fratrum nostrorum suffraganeorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ necnon et cleri ejusdem civitatis et diocesis Norwicensis sub sigillis auctenticis præsentantes humiliter supplicarunt, ut nostri appositione remedii tam execrabilem ausus insaniam sic debita pæna coerceat, quod læsis satisfactio condigna proveniat; et in allis similem furoris audaciam exaggerata in lædentibus censura compescat;—nos autem enormitatem tantorum excessuum eo magis horrentes, quo, cum sint similes adhuc inauditi, propter novitatem ipsorum, amplius adicitur pondus offensæ, ut eorundem excessum qualitati eorum castigatio conformetur, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus prædictas memorati episcopi sententias, prout rationabiliter sunt prolatae, vos vel alter vestrum faciatis usque ad satisfactionem condignam, appellatione remota, inviolabiliter observari, memoratos incendiarios homicidas clericorum, ac omnes qui sicut præmittitur, in monachos vel clericos manus temerarias injecerunt, et cæteros quorum auctoritate, mandato, auxilio, vel consilio, id extitit attemptatum, et specialiter ac nominatim rectores sive ballivos et consilarios supradictos, qui magis culpabiles in præmissis excessibus et eorundem quasi principales fuisse dicuntur actores, publice diebus dominicis et festivis per singulas cathedrales ecclesias regni Angliæ, pulsatis campanis et candelis accensis denunciantes excommunicatos, et denunciari ac ab omnibus evitari artius facientes, nunquam per alium quam per sedem apostolicam nisi forsitan in mortis tantummodo absolvendos articulo; et nihilominus corpora civium in tali excommunicatione decedentium in cimiteriis prohibeatis ecclesiasticis sepeliri, et si qua forsitan sepulta sunt, exhumari exinde faciatis, et procul abici a fidelium sepultura; omnes quoque prædictos clericorum interfectores præbendis et aliis beneficiis ac feudis si qua tenent ecclesiis vel personis ecclesiasticis, necnon et jure patronatus ipsis competente in qui-

buslibet ecclesiis privaturi. Et ne minus vindictæ quam excessus memoria prorogetur, auctoritate apostolica decernatis, ut non solum ad ipsorum hæredes aliquid non proveniat de prædictis, sed etiam eorum in posteritates usque ad quartam generationem in clericorum collegiis nullatenus admittantur, nec in domibus regularibus aliquem assequantur honorem, nisi cum eis super his fuerit per sedem apostolicam dispensatum. Ceterum si universitas ipsa præfatas sententias per quatuor menses animo sustinuerit indurato, vos extunc universis et singulis vicinis civitatibus regni ejusdem (sub interdicti et earum civibus sub excommunicationis pœnis, quas si secus fecerint ipso facto incurrant) omne cum prædicta universitate Norwicensi et singularibus personis ipsius in eadem obstinatione manentibus commercium districtius interdicere procuretis, ac insuper consuetudinem contra eos qui excommunicationis innodati vinculo absolutionis beneficium infra certum tempus obtinere detractant, in regno Angliæ devotione fidelium introductam, ut extunc secularem potestatem capiantur usque ad satisfactionem plenariam ditinendi, faciatis contra eosdem excommunicatos inviolabiliter observari. Et ut tales qui ecclesiam Dei sic opprimunt, sic contemnunt, ecclesiasticorum sacramentorum, beneficiis careant, omnibus personis ecclesiasticis, cujuscumque sint status religionis aut ordinis, districte mandetis ut prædictam civitatem prorsus exeant exceptis sacerdotibus aliquibus quos inibi volumus remanere ad eucharistiam in extremo laborantibus et baptisma parvulis exhibenda. Ad hæc ut temporalis pœna saltem coerceat quos spiritualis coercio non compescit, omnibus debitoribus civium Norwicensium et specialiter majorum et rectorum eorundem publico præcipiatis edicto, ne ipsis, in tanta obstinatione permanentibus et pertinacia obduratis, satisfactionem aliquam de suis debitis exhibere præsumant; contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Præfatum insuper universitatem et singulariter rectores seu ballivos et consiliarios

memoratos peremptorie citare curetis, ut infra duos menses post citationem vestram eadem universitas per procuratorem ad infra scripta plenum et legitimum mandatum habentem, memorati vero rectores seu ballivi et consiliarii personaliter compareant, coram nobis recepturi pro demeritis et præcise super nostris beneplacitis parituri; diem autem citationis ac formam et quicquid inde feceritis nobis per vestras patentes litteras harum seriem continentes studeatis fideliter intimare: non obstantibus quibuscumque privilegiis, indulgentiis, nec litteris religionibus ordinibus, seu quibuslibet aliis universitatibus aut personis, cujusvis dignitatis, conditionis aut status existant, ab apostolica sede sub quacumque forma verborum concessis, per quæ effectus præsentium impediri possit quomodolibet vel differri; seu si aliquibus sit ab eadem sede indultum, quod interdici, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possunt per litteras apostolicas, quæ de indulto hujusmodi plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum non fecerint mentionem.

Datum apud Urbem Veterem iii^o idus Martii pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Jessopp for the following translation of the Bull.]

In this Bull the cause of the second burning of the Church of Norwich is contained.

Gregory the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren Bishops of London and Ely greeting and Apostolic benediction. The serious complaint of our beloved sons the Prior and Convent of the Church of Norwich, which has been laid before us, sets forth that, THE COMMONALTY OF NORWICH, committing itself to an outbreak of detestable excesses, did burst forth into that audacity of frenzy, because—when certain laics, whom a multitude of the

citizens were seeking to put to death, fleeing from their pursuers did betake themselves to the monastery to escape the imminent danger—THE AFORESAID CITIZENS (in contempt of the immunity granted to churches) bursting with audacious insolence into the said monastery, did break into the church constructed in honour of Saint Ethelbert, situated within the precincts of the said monastery, and, with insolent presumption, rushed even into the treasury and gates of the cemetery of the aforesaid place. AND WHEN OUR VENERABLE BROTHER, the Bishop of Norwich, after canonical monition issued in the first instance, had bound by sentence of interdict and excommunication the aforesaid citizens for this their excess, THE AFORESAID COMMONALTY,—and specially Nicholaus de Ely, William de Donewyc, Adam le Hespiter,⁷ and Roger de Swerdestone, magistrates of the City, who are commonly called Bailiffs, and also Master John le Brun, clerk, of Norwich, Robert de Coventry, Hugo his son, John Knot, junior, William le Cunte, Walter Knot, Hugo Scissor, John Nade, Adam de Tostes, Simon le Palmere, John Lestof, William Payn, Thomas de Carletone, Paul called Benedicite, John called le Graunt, and Henry de Heylesdone, citizens of Norwich, by advice of whom the same commonalty at that time was governed,—being grievously vexed because and by reason that the aforesaid laics were received into the same monastery, and taking offence, did intend to perpetrate iniquity as appeared by the event.—For, entering into a crafty plot for the utter destruction of the aforesaid monastery, they strengthened their plots by oaths and various compacts; and at last all who were members of the aforesaid commonalty who had completed their twelfth year, having been summoned by the voice of the crier and the sound of the bell for the utter extermination of the same monastery, THE SAID COMMONALTY,

⁷ Or le Hespicer, the spiceman: he was bailiff in 1271.

with hostile attacks, burst into the said monastery ; and at last [the occupants] having been assailed by long sustained warfare, and being no longer able to provide for their defence by their servants, [THE SAID COMMONALTY] neither shrinking from sacrilege nor dreading the penalty of arson, UTTERLY BURNT in a hideous conflagration the aforesaid church, and even the Cathedral, the belfry with the bells, the dormitory, the refectory, the infirmary, the treasury, [camerarium] the sacristy, the guest chamber provided for the business of hospitality, and the other offices of the monastery, and, to sum up their infinite excesses in brief, THE WHOLE MONASTERY, the sacrament of the altar which had been reserved with much veneration in various places, the worshipful relics, the books, the sacred vessels of gold and silver, the candelabra, vestments, and other ecclesiastical ornaments which were there preserved for the more pompous celebration of divine worship ; AND, certain of the treasures, and certain other property which it was possible to save from such a conflagration, having been made away with by thieving hands⁸—not without guilt of sacrilege—AND AFTER THAT certain clerics and laics in the aforesaid monastery had been horribly slain by the edge of the sword—some in the church aforesaid, some too in the cemetery of the same church without distinction of order or dignity ; and some even (whom they took within the precincts of the said monastery, dragged forth from thence by violence and actually passed sentence of death upon,) having been subjected to capital punishment—THE AFORESAID CONVENT NEVERTHELESS was subjected to various insults and harassed by serious indignities—the monks in some instances being horribly beaten and otherwise abominably treated, and in some cases being put to flight from the said monastery in fear of their lives—THEREUPON the aforesaid Bishop, giving all due attention (because these excesses were so notorious that by their own evidence they

⁸ The original Latin is corrupt here. Query, for *asportantes* read *a portatis* ?

proved themselves guilty in the eyes of all men); the commonalty having received canonical monition that due satisfaction should be made on the premises; and when it offered no reasonable excuse why it should not make such satisfaction, but in contumacious wise refused to make satisfaction, he [the Bishop] laid the City of Norwich under an ecclesiastical interdict. [THEREFORE]

Inasmuch as the same Prior and Convent—for the more fitting dealing with excesses of such great audacity, the which the evidence of the fact in these parts and the present general report everywhere is making matter of notoriety—presenting to us letters patent of our venerable brethren suffragans of the Church of Canterbury and from the clergy of the said City and Diocese of Norwich, under authentic seals, have humbly supplicated that by the application of a remedy from us due penalty should restrain so execrable an outbreak of madness, that so due satisfaction should come to those that have been wronged and that in others the severe sentence laid upon the wrong doers may stop any similar frenzy,—WE, abhorring the more the enormity of so great excesses, because since the like heretofore hath never been heard of, on account of the very novelty of the transactions the greater the weight attaching to the offence;—in order that the chastisement of these same offences may be conformable to their character [WE] CHARGE your fraternity by our apostolic writing that you or one of you do act in accordance with the sentences pronounced by the aforesaid Bishop, according as they have been reasonably set forth, and cause them to be strictly observed, without appeal, even to the due satisfaction; AND THAT the aforesaid incendiaries, murderers of clerks, and all they who, as appears in the premises, have laid wicked hands upon monks or clerks, and all others by whose authority, order, help, or counsel this attempt arose, and specially and notably the magistrates [rectores] or bailiffs, and the

counsellors aforesaid, who were more culpable in the aforesaid excesses and are reported to have been the principal doers of the same, ye publicly upon the Lord's days and feast days, with ringing of bells and lighting of candles, Do DENOUNCE as excommunicated through the several cathedral churches of the realm of England, causing them to be strictly denounced and avoided by all men, and incapable of absolution (saving only peradventure in articulo mortis) by any other save the Apostolic See; AND furthermore that ye forbid the bodies of all the citizens dying in such excommunication from being buried in any ecclesiastical cemetery, and if they have been by chance so buried, that they be exhumed from thence and cast out far away from Christian sepulture. And that all the aforesaid slayers of clerks, if anywhere they hold prebends or other benefices or any fee from any church or ecclesiastical person, be deprived of such, as well as of any right of patronage in any church whatsoever. AND lest the memory of the punishment should prevail less than that of the crime, Do ye set forth by our apostolic authority, that not only nothing of the aforesaid [benefits] should accrue to the heirs of these men, but none of their posterity to the fourth generation shall by any means be admitted to any college of clerks or attain to any honour in any religious house, unless dispensation be given by the Apostolic See in this regard. MOREOVER, if the said commonalty shall for four months lie under the above sentence with a heart [still] hardened, ye shall proceed strictly to forbid all and singular the cities of that realm in the neighbourhood, under penalty of an interdict and excommunication of their citizens—the which they shall incur ipso facto if they do otherwise—all dealings with the aforesaid City of Norwich and the several persons of the same persisting in their obstinacy; AND moreover that that custom introduced by the devotion of the faithful into the realm of England against such as, being involved in the consequences

of excommunication, refuse to obtain the benefit of absolution within a certain time—viz., that they thereupon be taken [before] the secular power to be kept in durance for the rendering full satisfaction,—ye cause to be observed without fail against these same excommunicated persons. AND in order that such who thus oppress the Church of God and thus despise it may lack the benefit of the ecclesiastical sacraments, ye shall strictly charge all ecclesiastical persons of whatsoever state, rule, or order they be, that they do utterly go forth from the aforesaid City, saving some priests whom we will to remain there for the administering of the eucharist to those labouring in their last agony, and for the baptizing of children. FURTHERMORE, that temporal punishment may at least coerce those whom spiritual censure does not influence, ye shall proclaim by public edict to all debtors of the citizens of Norwich, and specially debtors of their mayors [majorum] and magistrates, that they do not presume to give any satisfaction for their debts whilst they continue in so great obstinacy and are hardened in their stubbornness, [and that ye do this] by ecclesiastical censure against gainsayers, enforcing them thereto without power of appeal.

MOREOVER, ye shall take care to cite peremptorily the aforesaid commonalty, and singular the magistrates, bailiffs, and councillors aforesaid, that, within two months after your citation, the aforesaid commonalty through its proctor, having full and lawful commission—but the aforesaid magistrates or bailiffs and councillors in person—shall appear to answer to the writings hereunder [appended] to receive before us according to their deserts and to submit themselves absolutely to our pleasure. But as for the day of citation and the form of whatsoever else ye shall do in the matter, see that ye faithfully inform us of by letters patent retaining the tenor of these. Any privileges, indulgences, letters to religious orders, or to any other persons or commonalties

whatsoever, of whatever dignity, condition, or state they be, granted by the Apostolic See, under any form of words by the which the effect of these presents may be hindered or deferred; or if indulgence may have been given to any by the same Apostolic See to the effect that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by letters apostolic, notwithstanding; unless the same shall have made express mention of an indulgence applying to the present case.

Given at the Ancient City iii Id. March in the first year of our Pontificate.

[NOTE.—This copy of the letter is dated 13th March, that in the Norwich MS. is dated 6th February. Gregory X. was inaugurated on the 21st January, but not *crowned* till the 27th March, 1272; therefore this letter is of the date of 1273 in any case. As for the discrepancy of the date, *alii judicent.*]

21.

The following references to the Disputes occur in the Royal Charters: Register of the Prior and Convent of Norwich, vol. i.

P. 66.—Directing inquisition to be made for evil doers who had destroyed the monk's tumbrell erected in Holm Street for the punishment of transgressors of the assize of bread and beer. 1 April, 5 Edward I.

P. 93.—Judgment in a suit between the citizens of Norwich and the monks concerning the right of pasture at Eton and Lakenham. 6 John.

P. 102.—Agreement between the citizens of Norwich and the monks respecting land in the suburbs of Norwich at Lakenham and Eton. ? date.

P. 227—238.—The citizens of Norwich having lately made a violent attack upon the Convent and destroyed some

of their documents, John, Bishop of Norwich, at the request of the Prior and Convent, caused authentic copies to be made of their several instruments and deeds of gift (which, by virtue of his authority, should have the same force as the originals) to guard against the damage which would accrue from their loss in future 7 Ides March, 1301.

P. 246.—Agreement between the monks and the citizens of Norwich respecting their several rights and jurisdictions. Sunday after St. Kath., 35 Edward I.

P. 250.—Determination of a suit between the monks and the citizens of Norwich respecting the right to lands, &c., near the river. 26 June, 5 Edward III.

22.

Liber de Antiquis Legibus. (Pub. Cam. Soc., p. 145.)

Hoc anno, mense Augusti, apud Norewycum accidit quoddam pessimum infortunium et a seculo inter Christianos inauditum; quod Ecclesia Cathedralis in honore Sancte Trinitatis ab antiquo ibidem fundata combusta est per ignem voluntarie impositum, cum omnibus domibus monachorum infra claustrum dicte ecclesie constructis. Et hoc fuit per superbiam illius, qui tunc temporis fuit Prior illius cenobii, sicut in subsequentibus cognosci poterit. Nam per assensum et consensum illius Prioris, garriones et servientes Monachorum sepius intraverunt civitatem, verberantes et vulnerantes homines et feminas infra domos suas et extra et multa mala facientes. Item ille Prior extrahere a Communa Civitatis homines de libertate nitebatur, ut essent, sub dominio suo, separati a Communa. Item cum monachi habeant singulis annis unam feriam per antiquam consuetudinem, contigit hoc anno circa festum Sancte Trinitatis venientibus Civibus cum mercimoniis suis ibidem, et cum major pars eorum in fine nundinarum reversi fuerunt ad propria, servientes monachorum illos qui remanserunt nequiter insultantes, verberaverunt, vulneraverunt, et quosdam interfecerunt; et super hoc nunquam ullam emendam facere curaverunt, sed semper in malicia et nequicia sua perseverantes versus Cives omnia mala perpetraverunt. Cives autem tot mala et tantum violenciam ferre amplius non valentes, congregaverunt se et ad arma preparaverunt, ut vim vi repellerent; quod ille pessimus

Prior intelligens fecit venire de Gernemuta magnam multitudinem malivolorum, qui, tempore turbationis regni, extiterant fures, raptores et malefactores. Qui omnes venerunt per aquas ad illud cenobium, ascendentes super Berefridum, ubi campane dependebant, munientes illum cum armis, veluti castra, et inde traxerunt cum arcubus et balistis; ita quod nullus per vicos vel venellas prope cenobium transire poterat, nisi fuisset vulneratus. Hanc violentiam Cives videntes, arbitrati sunt illos malificos esse manifeste contra pacem Domini Regis, qui fecerant castrum adulterinum in Civitate sua. Qui congregati, disponentes illos comprehendere et adducere ad iusticiam Regis, armis se munierunt, qui appropinquantibus ad portam curie clausam, non valentes intrare propter munitionem hominum armatorum, igne imposito, portam crudeliter succenderunt. Quo igne invalescente, Berefridus succenditur et omnia domicilia monachorum et etiam, *ut quidam dicunt*, Cathedralis ecclesia, pro dolor! cum omnibus reliquiis sanctorum, libris et ornamentis ecclesie; ita quod quicquid comburi poterat deductum est in cineres, excepta quadam capella, que incombusta remansit. Monachi vero, et omnes qui poterant, ponentes se in fugam, evaserunt; sed tamen quidam ex utraque parte interfecti sunt.

Et sciendum est, quod licet omnibus modis inimicos Regis et qui sunt contra pacem suam, etiam si necesse fuerit per ignis impositionem gravare et expugnare, set tamen, non est licitum Christianis in ecclesiis, vel in aliis sacro sanctis locis ignem imponere.

Dominus autem Rex, audiens hos pessimos rumores, valde condoluit; qui, in furore et in ira vehementi profectus est ad illam Civitatem, et veniens ibi fecit capi de Civibus quotquot fuerunt suspecti, et incarcerari in castello suo. Et fecit summoniri homines extra Civitatem predictam manentes, volens per eos juratos scire hujus rei veritatem, quibus venientibus coram iusticiariis per Dominum Regem ad hoc electis, accessit episcopus illius loci, Rogerus nomine, non degenerans a nequitia et crudelitate Prioris sui, nec considerans ad religionem ordinis seu dignitatis sue, sed carens omni pietate et misericordia, cupiens pro posse suo omnes cives morti dampnare, coram omni populo excommunicavit omnes qui favore, mercede, pietate, seu misericordia, alicui de Civibus parceret, ne transisset per iudicium. Ita quod, post latam sententiam suam Dominus Rex nulli aliquam gratiam voluit conferre, licet fuisset requisitus per multos viros religiosos manentes intra Civitatem et extra. Et tunc nichil allocatum fuit Civibus, quod Prior et complices sui fuerunt origo et causa totius illius infortunii, nec dampna nec tot mala, que Cives passi sunt per

predictum Priorem et suos, set tantummodo facta est inquisitio, qui fuerunt in illo conflictu, qui omnes de hoc indictati, per juratores morte dampnati, et, adjudicante Laurentio de Broke, qui est justiciarius apud Neugate ad Gayolam deliberandam, qui tunc fuit ibidem presens, fuerunt juvenes de Civitate numero circiter triginta crudelissima morte dampnati scilicet, detracti, suspensi, et corpora post mortem igne cremata. Quidam vero sacerdos et duo clerici manifeste sunt convicti fecisse roberiam in illa ecclesia; qui traditi sunt episcopo ad judicandum secundum consuetudinem sancte ecclesie.

Postea, per verissimam inquisitionem xl militum prope Civitatem manentium, compertum est quod illa ecclesia combusta fuit per illum maledictum, [Priorem?] et non per ignem Civium. Ille namque occulte venire facerat fabros sursum in turrin ecclesie, qui fecerunt ibi tela et pila ad trahendum cum illis, cum balistis in Civitate, qui vero fabri cum vidissent Berefridum comburi, sicut prescriptum est, posuerunt se in fugam et non extinxerunt ignem suum; quo igne invalescente accensa est turris et ecclesia combusta. Compertum est etiam quod ille nequissimus Prior proposuerat totam Civitatem comburere unde ipse per quosdam complices suos fecit ignem poni in tribus locis Civitatis. Quidam vero de Civibus volentes malum suum vindicare illud pessime augmentaverunt. Nam ipsi illo eodem igne succenderunt portam de predicto Prioratu, de qua superius mentio facta est. Fuit etiam ille nequam Prior convictus de homicidio, de roberia, et de aliis innumerabilibus crudelitatibus et iniquitatibus et per eum personaliter et per iniquos complices suos factis. Et ideo Dominus Rex fecit eum capi et tradidit illum episcopo suo, ut illum salvo custodiret in prisiona sua et produceret coram Rege ad mandatum suum. Postea ille Prior coram episcopo suo, qui nimis erat ei favorabilis, purgavit se more ecclesiastico, et ita ille nequissimus de crimine ei imposito, pro dolor! impunitus remansit. Qui postea, infra dimidium annum proximo sequentem, divina ultione superveniente ut credo, ille nequissimus miserabiliter mortuus est.

23.

Bartholomew de Cotton. (Rolls Chron. p. 149.)

1272. Eodem anno in crastino Sancti Laurentii cives Norwyci obsederunt curiam monachorum per girum; qui cum per insultum non potuerunt habere ingressum apposuerunt ignem videlicet ad magnas

portas monasterii ultra quas erat quædam ecclesia parochialis; et eas cum prædicta ecclesia et cum omnibus ornamentis libris et imaginibus et cum singulis in eadem contentis combusserunt. Item apposuerunt ignem in eodem instanti ad magnam domum elemosinariam et ad portas ecclesiæ et ad magnum campanile quæ omnia cum campanis statim combusta sunt. Quidam vero ex ipsis extra turrem Sancti Georgii ignem in magnum campanile quod fuit ultra chorum per balistas traxerunt ex quibus ignibus tota ecclesia præter capellam beatæ mariæ miraculose salvata est.

Combusserunt dormitorium, refectarium, aulam hospitum, infirmariam cum capella; et quasi omnia ædificia curiæ consumpserunt igne. Quamplures de familia, aliquos subdiaconos, aliquos clericos, aliquos laicos in claustro et infra septa monasterii interfecerunt, aliquos extrastruxerunt et in civitate morti tradiderunt, aliquos incarcerationem.

Post quæ ingressi, omnia sacra vasa libros aurum et argentum, vestes et omnia alia quæ non fuerunt igne consumpta deprædati fuerunt, monachos omnes, præter duos vel tres, a monasterio fugantes. His non contenti malitiam suam usque ad tertiam diem continuaverunt comburendo interficiendo deprædando. Quæ cum patefacta fuerunt domino Henrico III. regi multum condoluit et destinavit literas suas ad omnes portus Angliæ et ad omnia maritima, quod si qui de Norwycu fuissent inventi quod fuissent capti et detenti quousque aliud ab ipso reciperent in mandatis. Insuper mandavit omnibus episcopis et magnatibus regni Angliæ quod die Sancti Egidii [1 Sept.] comparerent coram ipso ad Sanctum Edmundum consilium daturi qualiter contra prædictos malefactores fuisset procedendum. Eo anno dominus Rogerus episcopus tunc temporis convocavit totum clerum suæ diocesis apud Eyam in crastino decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ [30 Aug.] pro præmissis; et de eorum consilio omnes prædictos malefactores in genere, aliquos etiam nominatum excommunicavit et denunciavit excommunicatos monitione in forma juris præcedente.

Civitatemque Norwycensem ecclesiastico subposuit interdicto et in prolotione ejusdem sententiæ dies clarissima versa est quasi in noctem et quoddam tintinnabulum in campanile eodem tempore fractum cecidit.

Eodem anno die Sancti Egidii [1 Sept.] tenuit dominus rex parliamentum suum apud Sanctum Edmundum et de consilio magnatum Angliæ accessit personaliter ad Norwycum ad vindicandum facinus prædictum et ibidem venit ad festum Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis [14 Sept.] et ad petitionem domini regis Episcopus relaxavit interdictum dum rex fuisset in civitate.

Postea iusticiarii domini regis fecerunt quosdam ex delinquentibus equis trahi, ad furcas postea suspendi, demum corpora eorum comburi; quod divites perpendentes muneribus corruerunt iustitiaros, liberos homines patriæ, consilium domini regis, et etiam xlviii milites cinctos gladio iuratos, ita quod tunc cessavit punitio; et per falsitatem et malitiam imposuerunt multa falsa Willelmo de Brunham tunc temporis priori; propter quæ liberatus fuerat carceri domini episcopi et omnia maneria spectantia ad prioratum seysita fuerunt in manum regis, scilicet ea quæ inventa fuerunt in custodia sua. Tota etiam civitas et omnes libertates eidem civitati concessæ captæ fuerunt in manum domini regis et rex assignavit custodes ad custodiendam civitatem nomine suo; quamplures etiam de civitate, timentes adventum regis fugerunt extra civitatem; qui fere postquam rex recesserat omnes reversi sunt. Et est dolendum quod in prædicto facinore quamplures sacerdotes et alii clerici infra sacros et extra existentes, quamplures etiam forinseci de patria fuerunt consentientes et agentes. Dolendum est insuper quod xlvij milites decepti per aliquos de ipsis majores, muneribus corrupti, dixerunt falso et maliciose quod ecclesia fuit combusta per ignem intus existentem male custoditum. Dicebant tamen, et hoc verum, quod cives fecerunt insultum et apposuerunt ad portas et ad alia loca.

Eodem tempore tradidit dominus rex maneria conventus Norwycensis residua in custodia Prioris de Binham Sub eodem tempore vi Kalendes Octobris recessit rex a Norwyco et in crastino Frater Willelmus de Brunham renunciavit priorati Norwycensi sponte pure et absolute in manibus episcopi apud Thorp tunc infirmi.

Eodem anno circa festum Omnium Sanctorum missi sunt procuratores Norwyci ad curiam Romanam contra cives Norwyci cum serie totius facti sub sigillis quatuor suffraganeorum ecclesiæ Cantuariæ. Sub eodem dato Incarnationis idus Februarii obiit Willelmus de Brunham quondam Prior Norwyci.

24.

Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, pp. 240 to 242.

In crastino enim Sancti Laurentii anno eodem post insultus nonnullos in Prioratum sæpius factos post januas conventus ab eorum æmulis violenter confractas, necnon alias injurias enormes sæpius illatas, statim post conventus refectionem ad sanctam matrem suam Ecclesiam accesserunt, ejusdem sanctæ matris filii spurcissimi, tota

videlicet communitas civitatis Norwyci numero ut creditur xxxij millia strenuissime armatorum qui una cum civitatis mulieribus ignem per loca diversa prioratus apponentes, ecclesiam totumque prioratum, *præter tria vel quatuor ædificia inter cætera vix numeranda opere tamen lapideo sed nec hoc penitus excepto*, in cineres redigerunt. Monachos vero fere omnes fugarunt. De eorum quoque servientibus triginta, vel eo circa, diversis suppliciorum generibus [et] hos in gremio materno, neci tradiderunt. Illos a gremio eodem, tanquam a matris abstractos uberibus, et ante tribunal proprium adductos, nulli parcentes ætati aut ordini eadem sententia damnaverunt. Omnia etiam pretiosa, tam in thesauro, vestiario, refectuario, quam etiam in cæteris ecclesiæ illius officinis et almariola, ea minutim confringentes et deprædantes asportaverunt. Monachi vero unus post alium clam fugientes, vix vita comite, recesserunt.

Convocato igitur die Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, apud Eyam totius episcopatus concilio, tam episcopus quam universus episcopii clerus ibidem congregatus, in dictum facinus perpetrantes omnes etiam favore, auxilio, aut consilio, eisdem tunc sentientes aut contractu qualicunque cum eisdem communicantes, pulsatis companis, accensis luminariis, sententiam excommunicationis publice et solemniter tulerunt. Quæ quidem sententia, habito Londoniis episcoporum Angliæ concilio, die sancti Lucæ [18 Oct.] ab eisdem renovata est et confirmata; ad cujus enormitatis scelus in transgressoribus refundendum, motus dominus rex versus partes Norwycenses die sancti Ægidii apud sanctum Ædmundum accessit, ibidemque super negotio memorato consulendum, universos totius Angliæ procures vocavit et magnates. Mora igitur ibidem per xi dies facta, die sanctorum. Prothi et Jacinthe versus Norwycum pro vindicta de tanto scelere capienda iter arripuit; qui moram ibidem per dies xij faciens, vindictæ de tanto scelere quamvis non ad plenum faciendæ aliquantulum indulsit; triginta namque et quatuor viri, unaque mulier de tanta multitudine, reliquorum marsupiiis a curialibus emunctis, quidam quidem per vicos civitatis distracti, quidam suspensi, quidam combusti, nonnulli etiam eorum singularum pœnarum ipsarum mulctati, supplicio pœnas luerunt cæterorum.

25.

Hollinshed's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 476, A.D. 1272.

About the moneth of June there fell great debate and discord betwixt the moonks of Norwich and the citizens there; which in-

creased so farre that at length the citizens with great violence assaulted the monasterie, fired the gates, and forced the fire so with reed and drie wood that the church, with the bookes and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to that abbeie, were cleane burned, wasted, and destroyed, so that nothing was preserved except one little chapell. The King hearing of this riot rode to Norwich, and, causing inquirie to be made thereof, thirtie yoong men of the citie were condemned, hanged, and burnt, to the great greefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the priour of the place was the occasion of all that mischêefe, who had got together armed men and tooke upon him to keepe the belfraie and church by force of armes: but the Prior was well inough borne out and defended by the Bishop of Norwich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maister of the mischêefe though hands were not laid upon him nor his adherents: perhaps for feare, peradventure for favour; and no marvel, though the lesse faultie lost their lives as most guiltie, for

———— rarus venator ad ursos
 Accedit, tutos conservat sylva leones,
 Debilibus robusta nocent et grandia parvis,
 Ales fulminiger timidos infestat olores,
 Accipiter laniat turdos mollésq; columbas,
 Versicolor coluber ranas miserásq; lacertas
 Irretit, muscas transmittit aranea vespas.

The King returning by saint Edmundsburie after he had doone his devotions to S. Edmund's shrine, began to waxe somewhat crasie: but after having a little recovered his health he called a councell there, wherein he went about to have taken order for the punishment of rebels, but his sicknesse againe renewing he brake up the assemblie and with all speed hasted to London.

Speed's Chronicle (ed. 1611, p. 539, book 9, chap. 9.)

That quiet nevertheless was a little interrupted by an incendiary outrage at Norwich, where the Citizens set fire on the Priory Church. The King being kindled with another kind of fire sware he would in person see a revenge taken: and despatching first away Sir Thomas

Trivet (before whom a great multitude were found guilty and condemned to be drawn and hanged) himself having in his company one Bishop and the Earl of Gloucester, followed, where, beholding the deformed ruins, he could hardly refrain from tears. The Bishop having therefore excommunicated the nocent, and the King condemned the Town in three thousand marks towards the re-edification of that Church, as also to pay one hundred pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in Gold, he purposed to return toward London. This public act of zeal to religion and justice was the last which he did as a King, for now he was come to that which he was to enter into as a mortal man.

27.

Fubian's Chronicles (London, ed. 1811, p. 368.)

In the month of June the monastery of the Trinity in the City of Norwich was consumed with fire by reason of a fray made atween the servants of the Abbey and some of the citizens of the City which grew to a great skirmish; for the Prior of the same and others of the monks purveyed soldiers and held the belfry and the church by force of arms, and threw out stones and darts, and shot many arrows, by reason whereof many of the town were both wounded and slain, which brought the commons and young men in such a fury and madness that they fired the gates, and after forced the fire with reed and dry wood that the church, with the books and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to the same abbey, were clear burnt and thrown down, so that no thing was preserved except a little chapel.

When tidings of this riot came to the King's knowledge he was therewith grievously displeased, so that he rode thither soon after, and there and then commanded questes to be charged of knights and esquires that dwelled in the country about, and to indict all such persons as were occasioners and executors of that deed, by reason of which inquiry finally were cast and judged upon the number of 30 young men of the town, the which were after drawn to the place of execution and there hanged and burnt, to the great discomfiture and sorrow of the citizens, for they thought the Prior of the place was the occasioner of all the mischief which was borne out and defended by the Bishop of Norwich then being named Roger.

Matthew Paris's Chronicle, vol. iii. page 381.

OF THE BURNING OF THE CHURCH OF NORWICH BY THE CITIZENS.

In this year, by the machinations of the devil, a quarrel broke out between the citizens of Norwich and the monks; and the citizens and common people of the place were excited to such a pitch of fury that they set fire to and burned the whole of the noble church of that city, with its offices, except the chapel of St. Walter near the infirmary; and, not content with this crime, they carried off with their sacrilegious hands the vases, books, and jewells which the flame had not touched, together with the golden cup which hung at the great altar, and in which the body of our Lord was placed. King Henry was highly enraged at this crime, and exclaimed, "By the affection which is due to our Lord, I will go and see into this deed of wickedness in person, and I will repay them according to their demerits." He therefore sent in advance of himself a knight named Tryvet, whom he had made a justiciary of the crown. In conformity therefore with the urgent orders of the King, and in consideration of the heinousness of the crime, a great number of the people of Norwich who were convicted of the crime were condemned to be dragged at the horses tail to the gibbet and there hung. The King, as soon as he could, set out for Norwich, taking with him the Bishop of Rochester and Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, and attended by a large retinue. When he arrived there and saw that the church was entirely destroyed by fire he could scarcely refrain from shedding tears; and the Bishop of Rochester excommunicated all the aiders and abettors of this dreadful crime. The King also immediately condemned the community of the town to the payment of three thousand marks of silver, which sum was to be paid within a fixed term, for the purpose of rebuilding the said church. The inhabitants were also condemned to replace the golden cup taken away by one also of gold, of the weight of ten pounds, and of the value of a hundred pounds of silver. William of Brunham was at that time Prior of that church. When he had inflicted condign punishment on the sacrilegious people of Norwich, the King determined to return to London; but whilst on his way thither, having stopped at the abbey of St. Edmunds, he was seized with a serious illness, which did not leave him till the end of his life.

Florence of Worcester.^a

Die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

Apud Norwicum conventu ad primam existente, subito fulminis ictu versus aquilonem percussa est ecclesiæ turris principalis in tantum ut tempestatis illius violentia nonnulli lapides evulsi ad loca remotiora violenter sunt transportati; quod quidem non sine prodigio universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis stupendo licet contigisse. In crastino enim S. Laurentii.

Anno eodem, post insultos nonnullos in prioratum sæpenumero factos, post januas conventus ab eorum æmulis violenter confractas, necnon alias injurias enormes sæpius illatas, statim post conventus refectionem, ad sanctam matrem suam ecclesiam accesserunt, ejusdem sanctæ matris filii spurcissimi, tota videlicet communitas civitatis Norwici, numero, ut creditur, xxxii[m] strenuissime armatorum, qui una cum civitatis mulieribus ignem per loca diverso prioratus apponentes, ecclesiam totumque prioratum, præter tria vel quatuor sœdificia inter cætera vix numeranda, opere tamen lapideo sed nec hoc penitus excepto, in cineres redigerunt, monachos vero fere omnes fugarunt. De eorum quoque servientibus triginta vel eo circa diversis supplicorum generibus, et hos in gremio materno, neci tradiderunt. Illos a gremio eodem, tanquam a matris abstractos uberibus, et ante tribunal proprium adductos, nulli parcentes ætati aut, ordini, eadem sententia damnaverunt. Omnia etiam pretiosa, tam in thesaurario, vestiario, refectorio, quam etiam in cæteris ecclesiæ illius officinis, et almariis, ea minutim confringentes et deprædantes asportarunt. Monachi vero, unus post alium clam fugientes, vix vita Comitæ, recesserunt. Convocato igitur die Decollationis S. Johannis Baptistæ [29 Aug.] apud Eyam, totius episcopatus concilio, tam episcopus quam universus episcopi clerus ibidem congregatus in dictum facinus perpetrantes, omnes etiam favore, auxilio aut consilio eisdem consentientes, aut contractu qualicumque cum eis communicantes, pulsatis campanis accensis luminariis, sententiam excommunicationis publice et solemniter tulerunt. Quæ quidem sententia, habito Londoniæ episcoporum Angliæ Concilio, die S. Lucæ [18 Oct.] ab eis renovata est, et confirmata; ad cujus enormitatis scelus in transgressoribus refundendum,

^a It will be noticed that most of this is *verbatim* from John de Oxenede's Chronicles.

motus dominus rex versus partes Norwicenses die S. Ægidii [1 Sep.] apud Sanctum Eadmundum accessit; ibidemque super negotio memorato consulendos universos totius Angliæ procures vocavit et magnates. Mora igitur ibidem per xi dies facta, die Sanctorum Prothi et Jacincti [11 Sept.] versus Norwicum, pro vindicta de tanto scelere capienda, ita arripuit. Qui moram ibidem per dies xiii faciens, vindictæ de tanto scelere quamvis non ad plenum faciendæ aliquantulum indulsit; triginta namque et quatuor viri, unaque mulier de tanta multitudine, reliquorum marsupiiis a cuilibet emunctus quidam quidem per vicos civitatis distracti, quidam suspensi, quidam combusti, nonnulli etiam eorum singularum poenarum ipsarum mulctati supplicio, poenas luerunt caeterorum.

30.

Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 488.⁹

Trivetus justiciarius, causa cognita, multos civium ad mortem damnatos suspendi jubet et semi vivos (proditorum usitato apud nos supplicio) dilaniandos mulier vero quæ prima portis cænobii ignem amoverat, ignibus absumenda decernitur.

31.

Crown Plea Roll, Norf., 14 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{matrix} M \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix} \right\} 6$
m. 69a (dorse.)

Jur⁹ p⁹sentant qđ cum quedam congrega⁹ gentium esset in villa Norwyc ad quedam hastiludia, q⁹dam Johs de Goseford ibid venit equitand quēdam pullanū ⁊ cum venisset p mediū prissie in⁹ equites ⁊ pedites p⁹dcs pullan⁹ duri⁹ infrenat⁹ hurtavit cum Herveo de Vallib⁹ ita qđ cecidit un⁹ obijt.

Et p⁹dcs Johs capt⁹ p p⁹dca morte venit et quesit⁹ quali⁹ se velit aquietare dicit qđ clicus est ⁊ nō potest hic respondere

⁹ I give this for what it is worth, but do not know what authority Godwin has for some of its statements.

Et sup hoc venit Rog's de Tybenh'm gerens vices Epi Norwyc ad clicos petend' ⁊ petent ipm tām clicum. Et ut sciat' qualis ei liber⁹ debeat inquirat' rei vītas p priam.

Et jur⁹ dicūt sup sacrm suū qđ cum p'dcs Johs venisset ad hastilūd p'dcm equitand' p'dcm pullam durit⁹ infrenatū rest'ng'e voluit pullanū p'dcm p frenū et frenū disruptit ita qđ pullanū detiñe nō potuit s; hurtavit cum p'dco Herveo ita qđ cecidit un' obiit. Et Jur⁹ requisiti p'dcs Johs aliq' modo detinuisse potuisset p'dcm pullanū q'n hurtasset cū p'dco Herveo vt si gratis cū eo hurtasset dicūt qđ nō. Et qđ hoc evenit ipo Johe invito ⁊ p infortunū ⁊ qđ p'dcs Herveg les⁹ fuit p infort⁹ ⁊ nō p aliq' felon' idē p'dcs Johs inde quiet⁹. P'ciū pullani xx'. un' viē respond. P'm⁹ invētor ⁊ q'tuor vicini veñ ⁊ nō malec'r.

32.

Crown Plea Roll, Norf., 14 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ memb. 6.

Presentatū est qđ Johnes de Berestret subdecang Norwic⁹, Wills le Chapeler captis, ⁊ Benedict⁹ le Somenur vi rescusserūt Johem de Herleston captū cū manuoꝑe bident⁹ in viit de Norwič ⁊ in Tolbotha ejusdem viit p sectam [blank on roll] convictū ⁊ suspend' adjudicatū. E (?) cū bañi ejusd' civitatis ipm Johm vers⁹ furcas ducent⁹ p'dcs Johs subdecang ⁊ alii vi ipm Johem rescusserunt a manib⁹ predcoꝝ ballioꝝ. Iō cap'. Et p'dci Johs ⁊ alii veñ ⁊ dicūt qđ reva predcs Johs adjudicat⁹ fuit suspend' ut p'dcm est ⁊ inducendo vers⁹ furcas clamatū fuit coīter qđ idem Johs clicus fuit ⁊ tonsura hūit clicale ob quod ipi adierūt p'dcm bañi ⁊ ipm clicū petierūt ⁊ inhibendo ei ex pte Epi Norwič ne ipm ult'ius ducat⁹ q' quidem bañs p'dcm clicum ei libavit sine aliq' vi vt cohōe faciend'. Et libavit custodiend' p p' legiū clicale in p'sona Epi put moris est. Et qđ ita sit petūt qđ int'rrat' De Jur⁹ predce viit ad hoc elci dicūt

sup sacr̃m suū qđ p̃dcs Johs suspend̃ adjudicat̃ fuit ut
p̃dc̃m est sine reclamaçõe p̃vilegii clicat̃ facienđ ⁊ indu-
cendo vers̃ furcas ut p̃dc̃m est p̃dci Johs Decañ ⁊ alii
ip̃m vi rescusserūt p̃sonā Ep̃i Norwic⁹ qđ nūc est dux̃unt
. hoc qđ Balli qđ ip̃m dux̃unt ip̃m.

Postea p̃dci Joh de Berestrete ⁊ alii finē fec̃unt put̃ patet
in hundo de Schropham.

33.

Whilst working at the foregoing paper I had frequent occasion to refer to much of Dean Goulburn's History of the See of Norwich contained in his *Ancient Sculptures on the Roof of Norwich Cathedral*, and was as much surprised as pained to find that it literally teems with errors, and that so far from its being of any use to the student of Norfolk history or antiquities, it cannot fail to terribly mislead any one who refers to it. It may save others some trouble if I note here some of the worst blunders which occur in about seventy-eight pages.

1. In the account of the abduction and circumcision of the boy Jurnepin by the Jews (p. 299), it is said that after the operation had been performed "some banded up the wound with a bag of sand, while others with the aid of lighted wisps of straw hunted about for the piece of skin which they had cut from him."

1. The actual words of the record (Placita Coram Rege, Queen's Bench, 18 Hen. III., mem. 21) quoted by the Dean are "Et postea ceperunt peciam illam quam sciderant de membro suo et posuerunt in quodam bacyno cum sabelone et quesierunt peciam illam cum parvis fusselletis, quousque quidam Judeus qui vocabatur Jurnepin invenit eam primo. Et quia idem Jurnepin invenit eam primo vocaverunt eum Jurnepin." A curious way certainly to fix what the boy's name was to be, but hardly as curious as translating "bacyno" bag, or "fusselletis" wisps of lighted straw.

2. P. 300. In "The same roll above quoted (18 Hen. III.) mention is made of an appeal of the Clerks of Norwich against the Sheriff and the Jews, in which it is stated that the ecclesiastics in their fury burnt more than one-tenth of the houses of the Jews in the City."

2. The passage quoted is at mem. 27 d. of the same roll. It has been entirely and wholly mistranslated by the Dean. The appeal was made not only by the clergy but by "the greater part of the men and women of the city," whose names come first. The clergy are not alleged to have burnt the Jews' houses. The passage thus incredibly mistranslated runs, "Et hac ratione, quia cum ignis esset appositus per duas vices domibus Judeorum," &c.

From other sources, viz., the Coroner's Rolls of Norwich, quoted by the late H. Harrod in *Norfolk Archaeology*, ii. p. 262, moreover, we know that the two who placed the fire were Simon Quitloc and Stephen Chiken, two citizens. (*See Ante Appendix 15.*)

3. P. 303. At length the quarrel passed out of argument into that of hostile action, the citizens in 1234 assaulting the Convent and robbing and burning part of it; the Convent retaliating and in their turn setting fire to the houses of many of the Jews.

3. The Dean might have been expected to have known how often his own premises had been sacked and burnt, but such is not the case. Nothing of the sort actually took place. The Dean has been misled by the passage in Blomefield (iii. p. 303), who quotes as his authority mem. 27 d. of the roll just referred to, which I have printed verbatim at pp. 325—7 of the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. i., and which contains not a word as to any attack or burning of the Convent, but refers to a riot as to the Jews. Such an

important occurrence would of course have been mentioned by Bartholomew de Cotton, who was a monk at Norwich very shortly afterwards, and who mentions the most trivial things about his Convent.

4. "(King) Henry (III.) was then (1234) at Bromholm . . . and . . . ordered the Sheriff of Norfolk to make an inquisition The burgesses resisted. and refused to allow any proceedings to be taken." (P. 303.)

4. He was not at Bromholm till some time after the disturbance so incorrectly set out by the Dean. He was passing through Norwich when the complaint or appeal referred to in paragraph 2 was made to him, and simply promised to return to Norwich and hold a court of enquiry. He duly held such court, and the Sheriff then stated (*inter alia*) that when the Jews' houses were fired "he (the Sheriff) asked the Bailiffs to take counsel how they could mend matters, but that they did nothing by inquisition or otherwise." There is not a word on the record about the King ordering the Sheriff to make an inquisition, or the burgesses refusing to allow him to do so.

5. "At length in A.D. 1242 the King arrived at Norwich in person."

5. As just shown, he was there in 1234, and then and there settled the matter.

6. "The accounts we have in various *Monastic* Rolls of those criminals who took sanctuary," &c., &c., (p. 373.)

6. The accounts given by the Dean are from the *City* Rolls, viz., the Coroner's Rolls cited by Mr. Harrod, (see No. 2) and have nothing whatever to do with the monastery.

7. Commencing his description of the great monks' and citizens' riot of 1272, the Dean introduces the subject by stating that whilst quintain play was going on outside the Priory, a certain John de Gosford was making his way through the throng, when his colt, frightened by the spectacle and clamour, became unmanageable and threw his rider against Hervey de Vallibus, a knight, who received such severe injuries that he died. "The City Coroner claimed an inquest but no sooner was it announced in court that he was a clerk, than the Commissary claimed him as belonging to the Court Christian."

"The morrow came, and with it a strong determination on the part of the citizens to resist the Prior's pretensions, and if force was resorted to, to meet it with force."

8. In referring to the dispute at the quintain match (p. 377) the Dean states that Geoffrey le Brun and others "fell upon a

7. There is not the slightest proof on the roll (*Assize Roll*, 14 Ed. I., printed Appx. 31) or elsewhere that this episode (which did *not* take place at quintain) had anything whatever to do with the riot. It occurs with other presentments of the year 1286, and was a simple case of accident, in which no blame was attributed to any one, and John was at once acquitted, though for extra precaution he had claimed his "benefit of clergy" in usual form. There was no dispute as to jurisdiction.

The Dean has jumped to the conclusion that the two occurrences took place the same year because they occur on the same roll. But the accident entry is one of the regular entries of current business, whilst the only reason for the long account of the 1272 riot occurring on the same 1286 roll was, it was carried on no doubt from a former roll, now lost, by a *postea* to allow those who had fled in 1272 to come in and have the matter finally cleared up by pleading the King's Pardon, which will be found on m. 18 of the Patent Roll of 13 Edw. I. Therefore all the picturesque writing about "the morrow came, &c.," is quite wasted.

8. The roll just quoted (which is our only authority) says (m. 72) "Et cum ibidem interfuisent quidam de Prioratū Norwyci,"

man of the Priory and killed him."

which of course refers to the presence (not the slaughter) of some men (not a man) of the Priory. This mistranslation is almost as bad as the bag of sand and wisps of straw in No. 1.

9. The commencement of the actual fighting is placed rightly at p. 377 on the evening of the quintain, on which evening Wm. le Messer shot the first bolt and killed Adam de Newenton. "Barricades were erected at exposed points, shields and bucklers held up to view, and crossbow men placed at every coign of vantage. Wherever the monks caught sight of a peaceful citizen obliged to pass the gates in proceeding to his daily work they ruthlessly shot him down, and left his body to rot where it fell."

9. These events did not follow on at once. There was a long interval between the killing of Adam de Newenton and the defiant hanging up of shields, &c., during which interval the City authorities found the Prior's men guilty of murder, and the Prior got them excommunicated for doing so.

There were no barricades at all, and the hanging out shields did not take place till August. (*Bl. Norf.* iii. p. 62.) Even the citizens only stated that the Prior's men shot over the walls, "*wounding many*;" so the peaceful citizen's body had no chance of rotting where it fell.

WALTER RYE.

Houses of the Bishop of Norwich

IN LONDON.

FROM the subjoined extract from mem. 4 of the *Close Roll* for 21 Henry III. (1237), it would seem that the Bishops of Norwich had a permanent residence at London; for if the houses mentioned below had been the private property of the then late bishop, it is not probable that the custodians of the bishopric would have had to have expended monies belonging to the See to repair the quay referred to.

de Kaio epātus Norwič ap Lond̄ repando de garbis Eccliaꝝ de Langham ⁊ T ⁹ ling.	{	Mand est custodi Epātus Norwič qđ garbas eccliaꝝ de Langhā ⁊ de Terling coadunari facias ⁊ de eisdē sine dilōe repari facias Kayū domoꝝ Epatoꝝ Norwič apud London.
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Ita qđ pficiat^r añ instātē hyemē ⁊ ad hoc faciend̄ incontinēa mittas usq; Londoñ ⁊ maereniū ibidē emi ⁊ dcam opačōem statī incipi facias de denariis mutuo capiendis sup denarios de garbis pventos. Residuū autē exituū dcaꝝ Garbaꝝ ponas ī repacione domoꝝ prefati Epātus tam apud Londoñ qā alibi ubi maꝝ indigebat repaciones. T ut s^a [Woodstock, 6th August.]

WALTER RYE.

The Walloon Church at Norwich

IN 1589.

BY LUCY TOULMIN SMITH.

THE manuscript which is the subject of this Paper is in the possession of the family of the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, of Highgate, London; but how it came into his hands, many years ago, whether by purchase or by gift, I am unable to say, as I have not been able to find any memorandum relating to it. As my father was in early life intimate with some members of the family of Taylor of Norwich, I conjecture that it may have come to him through that friendship, at some time after the dissolution of the Walloon Church in Norwich, by decree of the Court of Chancery, in 1836.¹ But, however wanting in pedigree, there is no question as to the genuineness of the manuscript itself.

¹ The Register of the baptisms and marriages of this church was in the custody of Mr. Edgar Taylor, as solicitor to the last deacon, before it was deposited in Somerset House in 1837. See an account of this volume in S. Smiles' *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 1867, p. 487. It is not in the edition of 1876.

It is a small folio of twenty-three parchment leaves, with several paper fly-leaves, in the original vellum binding. On the outside of one cover is written,—

POVR
LEGLISE WAULLOON
DE NORWICH
Du 5^e Avril 1589;

on the outside of the other are the following words, nearly worn away,—

LIVRE DE LA
DISIPLINNE
DE LEGLISE
WALONNE DE
NORWICH
DU V^e AVRIL 1589.

The first seventeen leaves are filled with the “Discipline,” which is written in an office hand, and ends on the middle of leaf 18, recto, leaving room for the special dating and appropriation to Norwich, and the signatures of several ministers and elders on the same page. Leaf 18, verso, and the two leaves next following, being five pages in all, are filled with signatures. The rest of the book is blank.

The opening clause declares that this is the “Ecclesiastical Policy and Discipline observed in the Churches of the French tongue gathered together in this kingdom of England under the protection of the most serene Queen Elizabeth;” and the “Conclusion” states that these articles “have been drawn up and approved of by the ministers, elders, and deacons of the French Churches gathered together in England.”

From these it appears that this Discipline or Order of Government was common to the several Churches of French refugees and others established in England, and I accordingly expected to find that notices of similar books would

be not infrequent.² But the only traces of other such documents that I have been able to hear of, are found in connection with the French Churches of London and of Canterbury. The Discipline of the Church at Canterbury still exists—a paper manuscript of the date 1641; the Pasteur Martin, who kindly showed me the books of his church, assured me that it is identical with that in use in London of the same date. The Discipline of the French Church in St. Martin's le Grand, London, was privately printed in February, 1865, by Rev. G. G. Daugars, Pasteur, under the title “Discipline Ecclésiastique de l'église Protestante Française de Londres établie par le Roi Edouard VI. observée es églises de la langue Française recueillies en ce Roiaume d'Angleterre selon qu'elle a esté revue par le synode des dittes églises l'an 1641.” This,³ and one other for London, published eighty years earlier, in 1561, are the only two instances of the Discipline of the French Church in England in a printed form that I have met with.⁴ Even notices that there was such a thing as a form specially adapted for the Churches in England are for the most part wanting in the principal works on foreign Protestant

² Twenty towns are known where French Protestant Churches existed before 1685. See *French Protestant Exiles in England*, by Rev. D. Agnew, vol. i. p. 10.

³ I must acknowledge my obligations to Mons. Daugars for some useful information, and a copy of his print.

⁴ Mons. H. Bordier, of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, kindly pointed out to me that in December, 1864, the Consistory of St. Martin's le Grand printed a “Discipline Ecclésiastique de l'église Française, de Londres,” signed by A. Th. Marzials and William Browning. I am indebted to the courtesy of W. H. Van Baerle, Esq., of the French Church in London, for sending me this pamphlet, which he informs me is not acknowledged to be of authority; it appears to be a modern compilation drawn up after “the study of the ancient disciplines and constitutions of our Church,” and quite differs in form from the old Disciplines. The “Notice Historique” at the end is disappointing, as it relates only to the “Confession de Foi.”

refugees, such as those of Burn, Agnew, Durrant Cooper, and Smiles; and when this is recognized, it is the London Discipline of 1641 alone that is taken for granted as the prototype. See Burn's *History of Foreign Refugees*, p. 28; Weiss' *History of the French Protestant Refugees*, 1854, p. 208. The Reformed Churches sooner or later everywhere adopted a "Discipline" or rules for government; but, while based on the same general principles, these differed considerably in form and detail, and grew in each country with the advance of years.⁵ Thus the preface to a "*Corpus Disciplinæ*," published in London in 1645, when some were seeking for a harmony of Church governments, mentions that "divers of the Disciplines of the Forraign Churches have been of late published in *England*, as, besides the *Scottish*, the *French*, that of *Genæva*, of *Garnsey*, and others."

Setting aside much earlier settlements, the French and Walloon Churches founded in England broadly belong to two periods: those established in the sixteenth century, consequent on the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, and the French civil war, from 1502 to 1567, and on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572; and those established after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The Walloon Church of Norwich belongs to the first of these periods, and dates from 1565, when, upon the representation of the Duke of Norfolk, Archbishop Parker desired the Bishop of Norwich to grant them a vacant church, and the Bishop's

⁵ The divergences of detail that grew up between the Discipline in use abroad and that in England, are seen not only on comparing the Articles of the Synod of 1559 and the London Discipline of 1561, but by comparison of the two eighty years later. See the London Discipline of 1641, and a tract entitled "The Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France, or The order whereby they are governed. Faithfully transcribed into English out of a French copy." London, 1642. A good summary of the Discipline of the Reformed Churches is found in Chapter 5 of "*Histoire des Synodes Nationaux*," by G. de Felicé. Paris, 1864, p. 41.

chapel was assigned to them. Later, they had the church of St. Mary the Less at Tombland.⁶

Fifteen years before this time John Alasco, a Polish nobleman who had devoted himself to the Reformed views, came over from Embden in East Friesland, and founded the Dutch Church of Austin Friars, for which Edward VI. made a grant in 1550. The king at the same time made Alasco Superintendent of the Refugee Churches in London; and in 1555 this eminent man published at Frankfort a Latin work of which a French translation came out in the following year,⁷ wherein he treated fully of the government and arrangement of the ministry and services of the "Eglise des Estrangers à Londres," their poor, the education of their children, and all the matters within the range of Church government. "Pourtant nous ayans puissance de dresser icy Eglise des Estrangers,"⁸ he made his explanations and his rules general so as to suit both French and Dutch, showing, however, by specific distinctions in certain cases (as for

⁶ Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, fol., 1765, vol. ii., pp. 201-2; *History of Foreign Protestant Refugees*, by J. S. Burn, 1846, pp. 61-79. The Norwich Church had a recognized liturgy of its own. The editor of "La Liturgie, ou la manière de célébrer le Service Divin dans l'église Française de Londres," 1800, among the liturgies which he put under contribution, mentions "celle de l'Eglise Française de Norwich."

⁷ "Toute la forme et maniere du Ministère Ecclesiastique, en l'Eglise des estrangers, dressée a Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince tres fidele du dit pays, le Roy *Edouard VI.* de ce nom, 1550." Traduit de Latin en Francois, 1556. (Copies are in the British Museum and City of London Libraries.)

⁸ Fo. 52. Alasco was doubtless in accord with some of the French Reformers for this purpose, though he had to defend himself against complaints: "nous entendous bien, qu'aucuns sont offencez qu'a dresser noz Eglises, nous n'avons pas suyvi les ceremonies et obseruations des autres Eglises: mais que nous en avons observé de toutes nouvelles," (fo. 296). Burnet tells us that he "had prevailed to obtain an entire liberty for [the German Church] to continue in the same forms of worship and government in which they had been constituted beyond sea, in which he had been assisted by Cranmer."—*History of the Reformation*, part iii., book iv., ed. 1715, vol. iii., p. 203. For some account of Alasco see Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, ed. 1840, vol. i., p. 336, and Smiles' *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 1876, p. 116.

example, as to "prophecy," folios 49 v^o., 64 v^o.) that he recognized the differences and the separateness between their Churches. This "splendid monument of intellect and piety," as a modern French pastor enthusiastically calls Alasco's treatise, is looked upon as the foundation of the London Discipline at present in use at St. Martin's le Grand, which, to a great extent, is no doubt the case.

The first Synod of the French Reformed Church met at Paris, 28th May, 1559. At this were agreed upon the "Confession de Foi" and a "Discipline Ecclésiastique." The latter consisted of forty general regulations or precepts.¹ This and Alasco's work seem to have been at once adopted as the bases for a special formal "Discipline" adapted to the wants of the French Church in England. In 1561 there was printed, "*Forme de Police Ecclesiastique*, instituee a Londres en l'Eglise des Francois," drawn up, as he himself tells us in "L'Epistre" (dated 1st May, 1561) at the beginning, by Nicolas Des Gallars, pastor of the church in London. He says that, wishing to obviate the danger of forgetfulness, he has reduced "to writing the points and articles which have been lately concluded and decreed among us. . . . I have intended to follow them closely, only changing or adding what seemed to me necessary for the diversity of places, times, and persons."² He says that his flock have received what he has written herein with joy, and he urges them to maintain it, and to be grateful for their liberty.³

But besides the general laws laid down by the Synod of

¹ This "Discipline," or rather Articles of Discipline, is printed in Haag's *La France Protestante*, Appendix xi.

² See similar terms used in the "Conclusion" of the Norwich Discipline.

³ A copy of this rare and interesting tract is in the British Museum. A Latin edition appears to have been published in the same year. Des Gallars was sent over to London from Geneva by Calvin, in 1560, for the purpose of re-organizing the French Church there.—Haag's *La France Protestante*, 1852, vol. iii., p. 244; Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, Oxford, 1840, vol. i., p. 592.

1559, and the more minute rules of Alasco, there was another source to which Des Gallars owed much. In the Appendix to his *Life of Archbishop Parker*,⁴ Strype prints from a MS. at Cambridge, which appears to be without date or endorsement, a skeleton or outline in Latin of "Rules for the order and government of the Ministers of the Foreigners' Churches in England." Whether these Rules were drawn up by Parker himself (which his good relations with the refugees render highly probable) or by some of those who were about this time working with him at the Articles and Injunctions for the regulation of the English clergy, the document must have been written before 1511, and was undoubtedly used by Des Gallars, the whole of the first part of his Discipline—which sets out the four orders, Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, and the duties, qualifications, and method of election of the Pastors—being little more than a translation from it into French.⁵ These then were also probably some of the "points and articles lately concluded and decreed" to which his "Epistre" refers. In this most important part of their Church government the foreigners in England acknowledged the guidance of the English Archbishop.⁶

The "Forme" of Pastor Gallars perhaps served as a model for those who settled the discipline of the French Churches in England a few years later, but their congregation in London was, in 1561, small and chiefly composed of unlettered men.⁷

⁴ Oxford, 1828, vol. iii., p. 16, No. viii.

⁵ *Forme de Police*, &c., folios 5—11.

⁶ In his letter of 1565 for the grant by the Bishop of Norwich of a church in Norwich to the strangers, Parker wishes that the Bishop's "ordinary authority shall suffice to take order with them, as well for the form of their public prayers, as otherwise for the state of religion and for their discipline, whereby that Church may live in the more perfect quiet." See the letter printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1834, p. 374.

⁷ *Forme de Police*, fo. 11. According to the List of Strangers in London returned by the Lord Mayor, the members of the French Church in 1568 numbered 1810.—Strype's *Annals*, Oxford edition, vol. iv., p. 576.

What was sufficient for their needs was not enough for a more important body. The strangers in Norwich, at first invited thither to aid in restoring the fallen trade of the place, prospered in spite of the jealousy which their success aroused in the native citizens. The Dutch were much more numerous than the Walloons or French,⁸ and it appears to have been chiefly on their account that the troubles of 1571 arose; but the official book kept by the Corporation, a kind of census of the strangers, includes the names and details of the French as well as the Dutch;⁹ and they were probably understood to be included in the decision of the officers of the Crown in favour of the latter, by which Queen Elizabeth confirmed her protection of the refugees.¹ Whatever the relations between the Dutch and the French congregations, the latter had by 1589 become of an importance which warranted their adopting a Discipline² of larger proportions and fuller detail than that agreed to by the small London Church in 1561. In this, full provision was made for the fourth order, of Doctors, who were to have in charge the training of students for the ministry as well as schools for children (see after p. 106); more particular rules were made for the order of Elders (*anciens*); other clauses under the different heads were added or augmented; and the arrangement of subjects was somewhat altered, though in

⁸ When they were invited to settle in the city in 1565, twenty-four masters were appointed for the Dutch and but six for the French. This was done by letters patent of 2nd Elizabeth.

⁹ This volume is among the Corporation Records of Norwich.

¹ "The Booke of orders for the straungers of the Citie of Norwiche perused ouersene allowed and ordered" by Sr Walter Mildmaye Knt. and Sir Thomas Smythe Knt. of H.M. Privy Counsel, and the Master of the Rolls, 20 April, 1571. In the Public Record Office, *Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth*, vol. 77, no. 58.

² Probably this may have been passed at one of the Colloques or general conferences of French Churches in England, to which Burn refers (p. 29) as being hold in various places between 1581 and 1660. I have been unable, however, to find any account of these Colloques.

several instances wording and phraseology remained identical. One important difference was this, that, whereas both by Parker and Des Gallars the assistance of the Dutch was to be called in for the choice of new ministers—"Pastor debet eligi denique a ministris et senioribus utriusque Ecclesiæ Gallicæ Belgicæ,"—in the Norwich Discipline of 1589 we find no mention made of association with the Dutch for this purpose; an indication that the French Church there was sufficiently strong to be independent.

On comparison of this Norwich form of 1589 with those of London and Canterbury of 1641, the resemblance is found to be so close, amounting to a large number of identical clauses, and so much nearer than that between the early London (1561) and Norwich (1589), that it is clear they must have been originally the same, and that the differences are only such as are due to the "diversity of places, times, and persons," when the Discipline was altered in 1641 to suit fresh requirements. Was there a Discipline in London of the Norwich type earlier than 1641, now lost?

Without pursuing further the history of the changes in the Discipline, it would seem, if the above sketch be true, that what is now in use in the French Churches of Canterbury and St. Martin's le Grand finds its oldest known exemplar (at present) in the Norwich manuscript before us, and that a considerable portion of this form can be traced back in its origin to two earlier products of English soil.

The interest of the manuscript is enhanced by the signatures which, in accordance with some usual clauses (see pp. 102, 107), the ministers and elders were bound to make to the Discipline on their election. It was customary also for the deacons to sign it. The first page (leaf 18 recto) was kept for ministers' signatures, and on the others, from time to time, the "anciens et diacres" entered their testimony to the public reading of, and adherence to, the

Discipline (see clause 22, p. 116.) Several of the names are those of well-known and honoured families, such as Basnage, Phillipeau, Polyander, Colombine, De la Haize, and Gaston Martineau, the first and the last the founders of well-known families. I have added such notes as I could collect relating to these names, and beg to thank Colonel Chester, Dr. Jessopp, Rev. D. Agnew, and Mr. Rye for kind assistance herein.

The side-notes are my addition, and may serve to facilitate comparison with other editions of the Discipline. The MS. is printed *verbatim et literatim* (except with regard to capital letters), punctuation being added.

Police et Discipline

Eclesiastique observee es Eglises de la langue françoise recoeuillies en ce Royaume d'Angleterre soubz la protection de la Serenissime Royne Elizabeth, Que dieu conserve en toute heureuse prosperité.

A "Discipline" necessary for the government of the Church. Pour bien gouverner l'église de Dieu, il nest pas seulement besoin que la parole et sacremens soient purement administrez, mais aussey quil y ait quelque police ou discipline, tant entre ceux qui en ont la conduite que les particulliers, a fin de conserver la doctrine en sa pureté, garder vn bon ordre es assemblées eclesiastiques, contenir vn chacun en son deuoir, et que tous recoiuent aduertissement, reprehension, consolation, et subvention en leur necessité selon quil en sera besoin.

Des charges ordinaires en l'église.

Four Orders of Officers—Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons.

Pour executer les choses susdites dieu a institué plusieurs ministres en son eglise, comme d'Apotres, Prophetes, et aultres qui sont extraordinaires, et

d'autres ordinaires, desquels nous retenons quatre ordres propres pour la conduite de la dite eglise. Asscauir des Pasteurs, des docteurs (la ou se trouueront hommes propres pour l'exécution de telle charge, et autant que ledification de l'eglise le requerra), puis aussy des anciens et diacres.

Des Pasteurs.

*The function
of Pastors.*

1. La charge des pasteurs et ministres de leuangille est d'annoncer la parolle de dieu et par icelle endoctriner, admonester, exhorter et reprendre tant en publicq qu'en particulier, administrer les sacremens, et en commun (auec les aultres anciens choisis pour surueiller sur les moeurs et conduire leglise) mettre en vsage auec charité chrestienne³ les admonitions et censures ecclesiastiques à l'endroit de ceux qui se destourneront de leur debuoir.

*They must be
lawfully ad-
mitted,*

2. Nul ne se peult ingerer de soy mesme en ceste charge, et ny doit estre admis sans vocation legitime.

*of pure doctrine
and learned;*

3. Il est requis selon le conseil de l'Apostre que celui qui sera appelé en telle charge soit pur en doctrine, et susfisamment instruit, propre à enseigner son troupeau en edification, et fermer la bouche aux contredisans.

*irreproachable
and of good
fame.*

4. Qu'il soit irreprehensible, bien conduisant sa famille, qu'il ayt bon tesmoignage mesme de ceux de dehors.

*First choice of
Pastor in any
Church.*

5. Qu'il soit examiné et aprouué premiere-ment par les ministres, anciens, et diacres, puis nommé au peuple, et finalement receu auec le consentement

³ Fo. 1 v^o.

de toute l'église qui le voudra employer, ou la plus grande et saine partie dicelle.

Order of Election:—Notice in the church, prayer and fast;

6. L'ordre qui sera suiuy en lelection des pasteurs sera tel: Des ministres, anciens, et diacres, ayans trouué estre expedient de proceder en lelection d'un ministre, en aduertiront publicquement leglise, l'exhortant de conioindre ses prieres avecq eux et à ceste fin sera celebré le jeusne publicq.

Votes of the Church officers.

7. En apres les ministres, anciens, et diacres s'assembleront pour donner leurs suffrages et choisir en bonne conscience deuant la face de dieu celluy quilz jugeront estre le plus propre pour vne telle charge. Que si l'église estoit entierement destituée de ministres, les anciens et diacres pourront appeller avecq eux quelques ministres des aultres eglises telz quilz aduiseront bon estre.

The church officers shall examine him in life and doctrine;

8. Celuy qui sera ainsi choisy deuant que d'estre nommé au peuple, apres diligente inquisition faicte de sa vie et conversation, sera premierement examiné des principaux⁴ points de la doctrine par les ministres, anciens, et diacres de l'église, et aultres qu'ilz pourront appeller avecq eux, selon quilz cognoistront estre expedient.

shall hear him preach from a text.

9. L'examen faict de la vie et doctrine, luy sera donné texte de l'escriture, vne ou plusieurs fois, pour estre ouy deuant la mesme compagnie qui aura assisté audit examen, laquelle jugera sil sera propre a enseigner l'église en edification.

He must sign the Confession of Faith and the Discipline.

10. Et oultre il protestera d'approuuer et signera les points de doctrine exposez en la confession de foy receüe es eglises protestans,

de ne sen esloigner aucunement, ne mesme de la forme, d'enseigner pure et simple, et pareillement quil maintiendra l'ordre estably pour le gouuernement et conduite dicelleci eglises, lequel aussi pour cest effect il signera. Et la confession de foy laquelle on soubz signera sera celle qui a present est receüe par le synode des eglises de france, jusques à ce quil en soit autrement aduisé, et sans pre-judicier à la liberté des eglises icy refugiées, ny les vouloir astraindre à la forme dicelle que selon les occurrences et necessité dicelles eglises elles n'en puissent dresser vne autre forme.

Afterwards he must preach a sermon on trial in the church which is choosing him.

11. Cest examen ainsi parfait, en vn jour de dimanche qui sera aduisé par les ministres, anciens, et diacres, il fera vn sermon au peuple, apres lequel vn des autres ministres aduertira l'eglise que le frere est nommé par l'aduis susdit pour estre ministre en ceste eglise. Et pourtant qu'aucq prieres et invocation du nom de dieu ils examinent, silz ont aucune chose à proposer contre luy, soit en vie ou en la doctrine, ou aultrement a remonstrer sus le fait de lelection, ce qu'ilz pourront faire dedans quinze jours en aduertissans le consistoire.

If no opposition, the approval of the Superintendent shall be asked;

12. Sil ny a point dopposition, sera aduerty le superintendent de leglise qui sera à pouruoir, là où par autorité de sa Maiestie il y en aura d'ordonnez, duquel sera demandé l'aprobation et consentement.

and the Candidate shall be presented to the Church.

13. Puis le ministre nommé sera de rechef présenté à leglise⁵ au jour assigné, et receu avec prieres et oraisons accoustumees ensemble avec l'imposition des mains.

⁵ Fo. 2 v^o.

Any Opposition shall be examined by the Church officers,

14. Les oppositions, si aucunes y en a, seront examinées en la crainte de dieu par les ministres, anciens, et diacres et autres qui auront assisté à ladite nomination, lesquels aduiseront si elles doibuent estre admises ou non; et si besoin est on prendront le conseil du superintendant es lieux ou il y en aura d'establiz, aultrement les freres demanderont aduis de la classe ou des eglises voisines: et quant aux eglises qui auront besoin d'estre pourueues d'ailleurs, veu l'estat present et sans prejudice pour l'aduenir elles s'adresseront aux freres de leglise de Londres, pour faire le choix et examen de celuy qui seroit propre pour l'eglise qui en aura besoin, lequel estant enuoyé, ouy, et approuué par l'eglise qui le requis, sera admis et estably en sa charge.

who shall take advice if necessary.

Churches that cannot provide their own ministers must apply to London.

Previous ministry a sufficient guarantee of doctrine and life.

15. Si celuy qui sera appelle et choissi a desia exercé le ministere ailleurs, ce sera assez quil en ayt bon et suffisant tesmoignage, affin que l'eglise soit asseurée tant de sa doctrine que de sa conuersation, et qu'aussy rien ne l'empesche d'exercer son ministere en toute liberté et assurance. Ce neantmoins qu'il ait l'aprobation tant des ministres, anciens, et diacres que du peuple, et mesme du superintendant la ou il y en aura d'establiz.

No priority among ministers.

16. Les ministres ne pourront pretendre primaute ou domination les vns sur les aultres, laquelle regle sera aussi obseruée aux aultres ordres et charges eclesiastiques.

Les Vices qu'il ne fault supporter en vn ministre.

17. Heresie, schisme, rebellion contre l'ordre ecclesiastique, symonie, brigues pour auoir charge en leglise ou

⁶ occuper le lieu d'un aultre; faulceté, pariure, paillardise, larcin, yvrongnerie, batterie punissable par le magistrat, vsure, et tout crime qui meriteroit punition par le magistrat ou separation de leglise.

Aultres Vices plus supportables es ministres, pourueu qu'en estans aduertis ils ne soient incorrigibles.

18. Façon estrange d'enseigner, curiosité a chercher questions friuolles, negligence a estudier principalement en l'escriture sancte, negligence a reprendre les vices, resen- tant flaterie, negligence es choses requises en leur charge, scurrilité, paroles oyseuzes ou iniurieuses, menterie, temerité, cautelle, chichete, cholere, tanserie, dissolution en habits ou gestes, dances, jeux scandaleux et deffendus par les loix, et aultres semblables.

Punishable
crime stays
election or
necessitates
deposition.

19. Si deuant que proceder à l'election ou approbation le personnage estoit conuaincu de crimes punissables par le Magistrat, comme larcin manifeste, meurtre, crime de leze maiesté, ou aultre grandement scandaleux à leglise, il ne sera point passé oultre en lelection. Que sil est desia receu et admis en sa charge, neantmoins le faict communiqué au superintendant, sil y en a, et avec le consentement de l'eglise, il doit estre déposé, encores que telz faictz eussent esté commis non seulement deuant son election mais du temps de son ignorance, et ce au cas que demeurant au ministere il aporte plus de scandalle a l'eglise que d'edification; de quoy le consistoire et aultres par eulx appelez cognois-
tront. Quand est des moindres faultes on
suiura l'ordre accoustumé et déclaré par nostre
Seigneur Jesus Christ en Sainct Math. 18.

As to smaller
faults.

Le second ordre qui est des docteurs.⁷

Doctors are to maintain sound doctrine, search the Scriptures, and prepare Students for the ministry.

1. L'office de docteurs est aussi de maintenir entre les⁸ fidelles la vraie et saine doctrine, et pourvoir par tous moiens quelle ne soit corrompue par erreur, ignorance, ou par faulces opinions, sans touteffois s'estandre es consolations, admonitions et reprehentions, ne s'emploier a l'exercice de la discipline. Pourtant leur deuoir est de sonder diligemment les escritures et en exposer briueement le vray sens, s'opposer aux hereticques et refuter leurs erreurs, tant par leçons que par escrit, et façonner les proposans qui se disposeront au seruice de dieu par leçons, propositions, et disputes, pour la conseruation du ministere de l'eglise.

Former exercise of the office a warrant on election.

2. Si celui qu'on voudra eslire a exercé ceste charge en aultres eglises il pourra estre receu, avec le tesmoignage de la vie et doctrine quelles luy auront rendu, par l'approbation touteffois des ministres, anciens, et diacres, lesquels aussy en communiqueront au superintendent des eglises, ou il y en aura d'ordonnez, sans qu'aucun sy puisse ingerer de soy mesme.

⁷ The "*Forme*" of London, 1561, after saying that the order of Doctors is "principalement en la lecture de theologie," contains these instructive words, showing how real was the modification according to needs of the "discipline." "Mais pour ce que ceste eglise est petite, et consiste la plus part de gens non lettrez, qui se peuuent contenter destre instruits par les sermons et catechismes, il n'est pour le present besoin d'en traicter. Que si l'eglise croissoit, et y eust gens preparez à ouyr telle lecture que puissent profiter aux autres au temps aduenir, on y pourra pourvoir selon le moyen qui sera donné." fo. 11. It was doubtless for the same reason that in choosing their ministers the members of this French Church were to call in the aid of "les ministres Flamentz," "ou anciens Flamens qui entendent la langue." fos. 6 v^o., 7.

⁸ Fo. 3 v^o.

A Candidate for
Doctorship
must lecture
before
examiners and
sustain theses,
&c.

3. Mais sil na encores este employé en telle charge, il sera bon, oultre le tesmoignage de la vie et conversation, quil face quelques lectures en la presence des plus doctes, mesmement en langues et en la theologie, tant de leglise qui le voudra appeller, qu'autres a ce appelez par le consistoire, par lesquelz aussi il sera examiné des principaux points de la doctrine chrestienne, presidera aussi à quelques actes de disputes des proposans et aultres escoliers et luy mesmes, par deux ou trois fois, soutiendra des theses, et resouldra les argumens proposez à l'encontre.

He must sign
the Confession
of Faith, and
the Discipline,
and will then
be admitted.

4. Cest examen ainsi faict, apres qu'il aura approué et signé la confession de foy avec l'ordre et police de leglise, laquelle aussy il promectra de maintenir, il sera receu avec le consentement du superintendent⁹ sil y en a, et de la plus grande et saine partie des auditeurs.

To this order
also belong the
Schoolmasters,
those who teach
the catechism,
languages, and
sciences.

5. A ce mesme ordre sont conioincts ceulx qui instruisent la jeunesse qui est la semence du saint ministere et mesme de toute leglise. Leur deuoir est d'apprendre aux enfans à respondre au catechisme, les instruire aux langues et sciences qui sont les aydes pour paruenir a plus grande erudition. Et pourtant nul ne sera receu qui n'ait bon tesmoignage de sa vie et doctrine, et soit approué par le consistoire.

All that is
taught must
be approved
by the Church
officers ;

6. Ilz communiqueront aux ministres des liures quilz voudront lire a leurs enfans et de l'ordre qu'ilz tiennent à les enseigner, desquelz ils prendront conseil, et à ceste fin les ministres, accompagnez de quelques anciens et diacres, les visiteront du moins quatre

who shall
make four
inspections
yearly.

fois par an, notamment ceux qui enseignent les langues, et prendra en garde que nul ne soit souffert d'enseigner qui ne soit de la communion, et qui ne soit approuvé de l'église.

Schoolmasters
must teach
true piety, and
the catechism.

7. Les maistres d'escolle seront soigneux d'instruire les enfans qu'ilz enseignent en la vraye pieté, et les preparer à respondre au Catechisme en leur rang, selon l'ordre qui sera estably par les consistoires.

Le tiers ordre, qui est des Anciens, ou aussi il est traicté du gouvernement de leglise.

The Consistory
composed of
Ministers and
Elders. Duties
of the Elders.

1. La charge des anciens, desquelz avec les ministres le consistoire est composé, est de veiller sur toute leglise et vn chacun dicelle en particulier, de conduire l'église en commun avec les ministres sans que l'un puisse vsurper domination sur l'autre au gouvernement de l'église; ¹ entretenir bon ordre es saintes assemblees, faire les admonitions et corrections ecclesiastiques, tant en particulier qu'au consistoire, selon lexigence du cas.

The choice of
Elders;

2. Pour lelection diceux on suiura le mesme ordre que dicta esté pour les ministres, ne sera touteffois necessaire qu'ilz soient autant auancez en scauoir, ny propres à traicter l'escriture, ny pareillement en aduertir le superintendent, ny de celebrer le jeusne; mais principalement on aura esgard quilz soient sains en la foy, gens graues, prudens, de vie honneste, sans reproche, et zelateurs de l'auancement de la gloire de dieu.

they need not
be learned, but
must be sound
in the faith,
without re-
proach, and
full of zeal.

¹ Fo. 4 v^o.

Their charge shall be divided into four quarters, an Elder to each quarter.

3. Et combien que generallement ilz doivent auoir loeil sur toute leglise, touteffois afin que tout ce face sans confusion, leur charge sera departie par quartiers, estant speciallement chacun ancien commis sur un quartier; et aura chacun ancien par escript les noms de tous ceulx de son quartier.

A weekly meeting for common counsel.

4. Ilz s'assembleront avec les ministres vne fois du moins la semaine, a jour et heure convenable, pour aduiser en commun aux affaires, tant ce que touche le general de l'eglise que les membres particulliers d'icelle.

No public accusations for private faults allowed.

5. Nul dentre eux ne pourra amener son prochain deuant l'eglise pour l'accuser de faultes secrettes et particulieres, sinon qu'il apparaisse qu'il l'ait premierement aduertiy suiuant lordre prescript par nostre sauueur au 18 de saint Math., lequel ilz tascheront de faire observer, tant pour leur regard que pour les particulliers de leglise.

Admonition by the Consistory for public faults.

6. Mais si les faultes sont publiques et scandaleuses,² ou que les delinquens eussent mesprisé les admonitions de leurs freres, continuans en leurs faultes, l'office des anciens sera d'en aduertir le consistoire, par laduis duquel pourront estre admonestez et exhortez a vn vray amendement de vie.

How Elders may summon a delinquent to the Consistory.

7. Les anciens ne pourront, pour quelque cause que ce soit, appeller aucun au consistoire par leur authorité priuee, ains seulement par laduis de la compagnie; sinon que le delay apportast quelque prejudice à l'eglise de dieu, dont touteffois lancien communicuera avec le pasteur et deux ou trois anciens.

² Fo. 5.

Mild admonition,—“Go in peace.”

8. Quand ceux qui ayans failly comparoistront, si les faultes meritent seulement vne simple admonition, leur sera faicte vne remonstrance aimable pour les amener a repentence, de laquelle donnans tesmoignage seront laissez en la paix de l'eglise.

As greater humiliation, suspension from communion.

9. Mais si par les admonitions on ne profitoit rien, afin de les humilier tant plus, et les induire a vraye recognoissance, on leur denoncera qu'ilz ayent a s'abstenir de la sainte Cene pour vn temps, et jusqu'a ce qu'on voye en eux vn vray amendement de vie.³

³ The following Petition, from a copy in the Lansdowne MS., 841, fo. 53, illustrates the action of this clause, of clause 2 on p. 117, and some others.

“A Petition of the French Church in Norwich,
To my Lord Bp. of Norwich.

“My Honourable Lord,

“These are to certify yr. Lordship, concerning Peter Truye of St. Laurents, and Nicholas de Corte of St. Paul's parish, both alien strangers and not free denisons (for ought that we can learne), that the former was suspended from our communion upon the 7 of December, and the latter upon the 12 of April, 1601. The cause[s] moving us were these:—First, their scandalous not conforming in matters of contribution to the necessitis of our congregation, others stumbling at their example, and we notwithstanding bound, both by the order of our Discipline as also because we may not be chargeable to the citty, to discharge all necessary duties, for the maintenance of our own minister, and poore, and students for the ministerie, and ministers' widdows, &c. Secondly, their scandalously departing from us to the English Church without any just cause, and after a close and unseemly manner, all refractarie persons having them for examples: as some have threatned to forsake us as soone as anie thing hath binne said or donne contrarie to their humors. Lastly, their contumacie, partly in not appearing when they were called to answere, partly in not yelding to the admonitions and exhortations of our Consistorie. And thus have they continued about the space of seven years, notwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, communicating in their own parishes, being suspended from the Communion among us, and never contributing to any necessitie of our Church, whereas all of us are charged with parochiall dutys for the maintenance of the English ministry as well as they. Our humble suit therefore unto your Lordship is, that it would please your Honor (so farre as you may)

For a public
fault, public
reconciliation
must be made;

10. Quant est des aultres fautes qui sont publiques et grandement scandalleuses à toute leglise ou grande partie dicelle, apres les remonstrances faictes à celluy qui aura failly, sil est touché de repentence, luy sera faict entendre que comme la faulte est publique, aussi il se reconciliera à l'eglise publiquement, apres que par fruits dignes de Repentence on aura bon tesmoignage qu'il est desplaisant de son peche, et conuerty a dieu. Cependant pour leuer le scandalle il sera exclus et suspendu de la communion de la Cene, et mesme selon la qualité de la faulte, lutilité de l'eglise, et la disposition de la personne, le consistoire aduisera d'aduerter l'eglise⁴ qu'un tel,

to help us in bringing home these two strayed sheep unto their own shepefold: as also not to suffer any other to goe away from us, upon such sinister occasions, considering it would open a windowe to all inordinate and refractarie persons, and that if but a fewe of our ablest men for contribution should happen to follow their example, the rest would not be able to bear the burden. We pray God that it would please Him to continue and multiply His blessings upon yr. Lordship and your honorable familie.

"Yr. L. humble petitioners the minister and elders of the French congregation, and in the name of the rest, P. de Laune, M. Jean Fremault, Baudun Burgar, Jaques Fornesques, Francois Deprez."

The date of this Petition, counting seven years after the suspension in 1601, will be about 1608. Blomefield (vol. ii., p. 256) states that in 1613 it was determined "that the strangers, according to their first patent, should not be assessed by the court to the minister's wages in their parishes for anything but their houses and grounds, the payment for their values and stocks being left to their own congregations; they being to be governed by the bishop as to spirituals, by the city as to temporals, and their own church by their elders and deacons." (This agrees with the terms of the "Book of Orders" of 1571, see before p. 98, note 1). These disputes went on for some time among the French; an account of them and the final settlement in 1621, Peter de Lawne being still minister, is given by Blomefield. The date 1618 assigned by Burn to Peter de Lawne appears then to be an error, and this is confirmed on finding that Jean Fremault, one of the elders who signs the above Petition, is found as signing our Discipline some time between 1596 and 1615. Francois Desprez signed it in 1594, and Jaque Farvacque about the same date. Baudin Burgar signed in 1595. See after, pp. 142, 143.

⁴ Fo. 5 v^o.

ayant commis telle faulte, apres en auoir esté admonesté par le consistoire, a declaré auoir vraye repentence de ses faultes, et par tant qu'apres auoir esprouué sa repentence il sera receu par reconsiliation publique; et à ceste fin sera leglise

the Church shall watch and pray for him. aduertie de veiller sur luy, et prier dieu qu'il luy plaise faire la grace que ce qu'il a proteste de bouche, il le sente aussi de cœur, et le testifie par vrais effectz et fruits dignes de repentence.

Those who are incorrigible shall be cut off from the Church. 11. Que si aucuns estoient tellement endurcis quilz ne voulussent faire leur profit des corrections et retranchemens de la sainte Cene, ains continuassent en leur opiniastreté et malice, il sera besoin de proceder jusques à l'excommunication et retranchement public de leglise.

All means of bringing back a brother to the way to be tried before resorting to excommunication. 12. Deuant que venir à l'excommunication, qui est le dernier remede es censures ecclesiastiques, les ministres et anciens aduiseront prudemment à tous aultres moyens de ramener le frere desuoié au bon chemin, comme par les prieres et admonitions particullieres des freres qui ont la crainte de dieu; tellement qu'ilz ne procederont à icelle, sinon avec grande maturité de jugement, et pour causes dimportance, et quant il ny aura aultre moyen de garir la playe tant de l'eglise que du frere.

First notice of excommunication to be in general terms, no name being given. 13. Partant le frere sera denoncé du moins par trois dimanches distans de quinze en quinze jours, le premier desquelz il ne sera declaré par son nom. Ains en general leglise sera aduertie de prier pour vn frere qui estant⁵ coupable de grandes faultes, jusques à present est demouré incorrigible, et lequel

⁵ Fo. 6.

par laduis du consistoire se trouueroit digne dexcommuni-
cation et retranchement total, sinon quil se retourne par
vraie repentance de ses fautes.

Full notice of
offender and
offence in
church, but
repentance
still open.

14. Les aultres dimanches sera nonmé et sa
faute speciffiée, avec aduertissement à leglise de
prier dieu pour luy, et ladmonester de son deuoir ;
et si quelqu'un apperçoit quelque signe de vraie
repentance, ou cognoist aultre legitime empeschement pour-
quoy on ne procedast à ladite excommunication, qu'il en
aduertisse les ministres et anciens de leglise.

Final excom-
munication ;
a warning to
others.

15. Si toutes ces dilligences ne profitent de
rien, a jour certain, dont il sera aduisé par le
consistoire, sera excommunié et retranché du
corps de l'eglise, avec prieres et inuocation du nom de dieu ;
• les freres estans aduertis d'y prendre exemple et `sabstenir
de la communication familiere de telles personnes, affin
qu'ilz ne soient tentez de Satan ; et que ceux qui ont esté
retranschez soient humiliez par honte, sans touteffois desister,
l'occasion sen presentant, et les aduertir de leur salut.

Reconciliation
of a sinner
upon his
repentance.

16. Et comme lune des fins de l'excommuni-
cation est de ramener les pecheurs à repentance
quant dieu fera la grace au frere excommunié de
se repentir, les ministres et anciens ayans cognu, tant par ce
quilz en pourront juger que par le tesmoignage des freres,
vn vray amendement en luy, en aduertiront leglise par le
consentement de laquelle ilz se recepuront publiquement,
apres recognoissance de ses fautes avec joie, action⁶ de
graces, et prieres, selon le formulaire qui sensuict :—

Priere pour la reconciliation des excommuniez.

Seigneur dieu et pere, duquel les misericordes sont infinies,
et qui ne desire point la mort du pecheur, mais quil se

⁶ Fo. 6 v^o.

convertisse et quil viue, puisque tu nous as donné ton filz bien aymé et accepté le sacrifice de sa mort pour la rancon de noz pechez, suivant ce qui nous est enseigné que la joye est grande au ciel pour la repentance des pecheurs, Nous te rendons graces de ta bonté et misericorde enuers nostre frere icy present, te prians luy faire ceste grace que de plus en plus par vne vraie repentance il soit du tout conuertý a toy, le lauuant et purifiant au sang de ton filz nostre seigneur Jesus Christ; et luy fay ceste faueur par ta misericorde de l'enter tellement en ton filz nostre seigneur Jesus et le conseruer au bercail de ton eglise, qu'il puisse avec nous tous perseuerer le reste de ses jours en la crainte de ton saint nom, a lauancement de ta gloire et edification de ton eglise; exauce nous pere de misericorde, au nom de ton filz nostre seigneur Jesus Christ. Amen.

Moderation to
be used in all
censures and
corrections.

17. En toutes les censures et aduertissemens il fault quil y aict vne telle moderation, que les corrections mesme soient medecines, de peur que le pauure pecheur ne soit englouty de tristesse.

None of our
communion
must lapse
into idolatry
or popery.

18. Ceux qui auront este rangez en la Communion des eglises refugiées en ce Royaulme, sil se verifie quilz soient retournes, ou ayent assisté aux idolatries et superstitions papisticques, ne seront admis à la communion sans repentance publicque; et quant a ceux⁷ qui n'ayans esté de nostre Communion seroient tombez en pareilles fautes, sera assez quilz recognoissent leurs fautes au consistoire, promectans d'en satisfaire aux eglises en la communion desquelles ilz estoient, ou qui autrement en pourroient estre offencéez, selon l'ordre estably par les eglises ou ilz se trouuerout.

⁷ Fo. 7.

Persons of
scandalous life
must be
expelled, and
other Churches
warned.

19. Quand il y aura aucuns qui pour leur mauuaise vie auront esté chassez par lauthorité du Magistrat ou se seroient retirez d'eux mesme, ayans mené vne vie scandaleuse, il sera bon que les eglises sen aduertissent l'une l'autre, afin que telles personnes n'entrent es autres troupeaux, pour les infecter et y apporter nouueaux scandalles.

Mutual warn-
ing of faults by
church officers.

20. Et dautant quil est bien necessaire, que ceux qui president sur les autres soient à tous en exemple de bonne vie, et neantmoins comme l'infirmité de l'homme est telle, pendant quil est en ce pellerinage, quil est subiect a peche[r], fauldra aussi que les ministres, anciens, et diacres, ayent l'oeil les vns sur les aultres en toute charité, pour s'aduerter mutuellement de leurs infirmitéz.

Special quar-
terly meetings
of the Minis-
ters, Elders,
and Deacons
for mutual
examination of
life and dis-
charge of duty.

21. Pourtant il y aura quatre jours en lannée, assçauoir de trois mois en trois mois, es-quelz les ministres, anciens, et diacres s'assembleront pour s'aduerter les vns les aultres des imperfections qui seroient en leur vie et conversation, et pareillement des negligences et aultres infirmitéz en lexercice de leur charge; a laquelle assemblée tous et vn chacun des ministres, anciens, et diacres, se submectront pour estre lun apres lautre aduertis; ce qui seruira aussi bien a reprimer les calomnies et faulx rapports qu'on pourroit faire^s contre aulcun d'iceulx, que pour corriger ceulx qui auroient commis quelque faulte. Et en telle assemblée en la fin de la Censure de Noel, il sera traicté par les anciens et diacres de l'entretienement des ministres, avec lesquels quelques vns d'entre eux auront au prealable communiqué en particulier pour le rapporter à ceste compagnie la, et puis considerer quel default ilz pourroient auoir, pour y estre promptement pourueu.

^s Fo. 7 v^o.

The "Discipline" to be read once a year.

22. En ladite assemblée se lira du moins vne fois l'an, de point en point, la discipline ecclesiastique.

Discussions at the Consistory not to be revealed.

23. Que nul ne reuele aux parties ny a autre ce qui aura este traicte au consistoire, principalement ce qui touchera l'honneur de quelqu'un, ou les affaires qui selon l'aduis et intention du consistoire ne deburont estre diuulguées, à peine de Censure telle que le consistoire aduisera.

On matters of difficulty other foreign Churches to be consulted.

24. Sil aduenoit qu'un fait ce proposast qui fut de telle difficulté que les ministres et anciens nen peussent accorder, ilz appelleront les diacres pour en auoir leur aduis. Que si encores par ce moyen la difficulté ne pourroit estre decidée, ilz en communiqueront aux freres des eglises estrangeres au jour ordonné par chasque mois pour l'assemblée desdites eglises, es lieux ou tel ordre peult estre obserué.

Disqualifications of an Elder.

25. Les mesmes causes qui invitent deposition ou admonition et censure au ministre ont pareillement lieu en lancien.

The office of a Minister perpetual, those of Elder and Deacon temporary;

26. Il y a cecy de difference en ces charges, que celle des ministres est perpetuelle, mais quant aux anciens et diacres, pour bonnes causes quilz proposeront dont les consistaires cognoistront, pourront estre deschargez avec le consentement de leglise, laquelle en sera pour cest effect aduertie.

but at present the latter shall stay in for three years.

27. Toutefois veu l'estat present des eglises, les anciens⁹ et diacres continueront en leurs charges par l'espace de trois ans,¹ en telle sorte

⁹ Fo. 8.

¹ The *Forme* of 1561 says that it is better that the office of Elders be temporary, not perpetual, yet they should not be changed without cause when they faithfully acquit themselves of their duty. Fo. 12 v°.

que chacun an il se face descharge et election nouuelle de la tierce partie des anciens et diacres. Sauf que ceulx qui voudront continuer plus long temps en leurs charges en estans requis par le consistoire le pourront faire, veu que sil estoit possible il seroit besoin que ceste charge fust perpetuelle en leglise.

The Church
may have as
many Elders
as it likes.

28. Le nombre des anciens ne prescrira point, ains demeurera en la liberté de l'eglise d'en eslire tel nombre quelle jugera estre necessaire.

Le Quatreiesme Ordre, qui est des Diacres.

Deacons are to
watch and help
the poor.

1. La charge des diacres est d'auoir soin de tous les pauvres, tant ceulx qui sont affligez de pauvreté ordinaire que ceulx lesquelz par quelque occasion auroient besoin de subuention et secours extraordinaire, afin quilz recoiuent l'aide et consolation qui leur sera necessaire.

Two funds in
each Church;
one for the
poor, the other
for the support
of the Church.

2. Il y aura en chaque eglise deux bourses,² l'une pour les pauvres, lautre pour l'entretien du ministre et aultres affaires de l'eglise, lesquelles bourses se regleront l'une avec l'autre selon que l'utilité et bien des eglises le requerra.

There shall be
a weekly
meeting to
consult about
the poor and
the Church;
but one alone
on emergency
may give away
to the amount
of a shilling.

3. Ilz sassembleront du moins vne fois toutes les semaines, affin de pourueoir dun commun aduis à la necessité des pauvres, et generalement de toute l'eglise, quant il sera besoin de quelque subuention, sans que rien puisse estre fait à part ny à la discretion d'un seul; sinon que pour quelque necessité vrgente chacun deux pourra donner jusques a vn solz strelin.

² See note on p. 110.

Who shall
preside at the
meeting.

³4. Lun des pasteurs y assistera et presidera en tant que faire ce pourra; et, en son absence, lun dentre eulx presidera en ladite assemblée, et chacun d'eux à son tour par ordre, pour ouyr les aduertissemens et remonstrances des freres, et recoeuillir leur aduis, et suiuant iceulx resouldra ce qui sera mis en deliberation.

Accounts to be
kept monthly
by two Deacons
in succession.

5. Un d'entre eux qui pourra bien escrire et tenir compte aura charge du liure de mise et recepte; et pareillement vn aultre fera ladite mise et recepte de tous les deniers communs qui luy seront mis entre mains par ses aultres freres; et ce pour vn mois, lequel finy, leur succederont deux aultres pour tenir le luire et faire ladite recepte et mise.

The Deacons
to make the
collections at
church,

6. Les diacres recepueront alternatifuement en la fin des assemblées les deniers des colectes donnez a lissue des eglises, selon l'ordre dicelles.

and to hand
them over to
the Deacon in
charge of the
purse.

7. A la fin de chacun sermon les deniers ainsi comme dessus receuz seront comptez en la presence de leur compaignie, et mis entre les mains de celuy qui tiendra la bource, et semblablement le liure de la recepte chargé par celluy qui sera deputé à cest effect.

Who to con-
sult in
questions of
difficulty.

8. Sil y a quelque difficulté dont ils ne puissent s'accorder ilz appelleront l'un des ministres ou l'ancien du cartier, dont il sera question pour la vuidier; et si cela ne suffit, ilz appelleront plusieurs ou le rapporteront au consistoire.

Private
matters not to
be revealed.

9. Pour maintenir lhonneste liberté qui doit estre entre eux, il ne sera loisible a aucun

de reueler ce qui aura esté dit entre eux, ny en communiquer à personne, sinon aux ministres et anciens et à ceulx dont il aura esté aduisé et conclud par entre'ux.

On extraordinary matters the Consistory to be consulted.

⁴ 10. Sil est question de quelque chose extraordinaire ou nouuelle, ilz en communiqueront au consistoire, sans laduis duquel ilz ne pourront rien innouer.

Deacons to make their account on Communion Sunday, once a quarter.

11. Le compte des diacres sera rendu au temps de la celebration, pourueu quil ne passe point trois mois, le jour de la Cene, à lissue du sermon d'apres mydy, en la presence de ceux qui y seront depputez du consistoire; et en oultre le peuple sera aduerty et exhorté de se voulloir trouuer, mesmes aucuns y seront expressement appelez par les anciens chacun en leur cartier.

Weekly alms to the poor.

12. Ilz porteront par chaque sepmaine les aumosnes es maisons des pauvres, et s'enqueront soigneusement de leurs necessitez.

Monthly visits by the Elder and Deacon in each quarter.

13. Chacun des diacres visitera tous les mois les familles de son cartier avec l'ancien qui en a la charge.

Visits to the poor and afflicted every three months.

14. Dauantage, de trois mois en trois mois la moictié dentr'eux visiteront toutes les maisons pauvres et affligées de l'eglises, pour cognoistre ceulx qui auront besoing d'augmentation ou diminution d'assistance, estans accompagnez de lun des ministres aultant que faire ce pourra.

Deacons may be discharged when necessary.

15. Leur charge ne sera perpetuelle non plus que des anciens. Ains pour causes raisonnables par eux proposees, desquelles la compaignie

des ministres, anciens, et diacres jugera, pourront estre deschargez, apres que l'eglise y aura donné son consentement.

Order of
election, &c.,
the same as
that of Elders.

16. Quant à l'election, descharge, ou deposition, si elle y eschet, sera suiui le mesme ordre qui a esté déclaré pour le regard des anciens.

17. Il sera pourueu au nombre selon la necessité.

Du temps de l'administration de la parole de Dieu et du nombre des sermons.

The consistory
to arrange
about
preaching.

1. Pour l'enseignement et continuelle instruction de leglise en la parole de dieu, on establira les predications, desquelles le nombre, les jours, et heures, seront laissez en la disposition des consistoires.

Care is to be
taken for
teaching the
Catechism and
preparation for
Communion.

⁵2. Oultre cela sera retenu et diligemment practiqué l'usage du catechisme, pour l'instruction des enfans et des rudes qui se preparent à la communion de la sainte Cene, et mesme de toute l'eglise, qui sera exhortée de se trouuer, dont touteffois la forme est laissée en la prudence et discretion des consistoires.

Prayer for
the afflicted.

3. Lusage des prieres extraordinaires au temps de l'affliction sont laissez en la disposition des consistoires.

Public fasting
to be with
much
solemnity.

4. Le Jeusne semblablement sera celebré aux necessitez extremes de l'eglise, lequel ne sera souuent publié, mais quant il en sera besoin sera

avec toute solennité denoncé le jour du dimanche precedent ; puis le jour prochain deuant la celebration du jeusne le peuple y sera préparé et disposé, avec exhortation et prieres, et sera chacun aduertý soigneusement de laisser son oeuvre et assister aux exercices de pieté qui seront establis par les consistoires.

There shall be reading and singing at the beginning of service.

5. Pendant le temps que leglise sassemblera quelqu'un deputé à ce faire lira à haute voix quelque liure du viel ou nouveau testamment, durant laquelle lecture ce pourra quelque fois entremesler le chant de quelques pseumes.

Sunday catechising of children over ten years of age.

6. Les enfans de dix ans et au dessus, ou aultre aage conuenable selon le jugement des eglises, tant de lun que de lautre sexe, respondront le dimanche au catechisme.

The children to answer according to their quarters; all to be done in order.

7. Pour euitier confusion seront les ditz enfans distribuez⁶ par certains ordres selon leurs cartiers et respondront chacun dimanche a leur rang, touteffois les enfans dudit aage se trouueront en la place qui leur est ordonnée, et viendront instruitz pour respondre si le ministre les interroque; aussi bien que ceux qui seront particulièrement ordonnez pour respondre cedit jour.

The Elders in their quarters to look after the catechumens.

8. Les anciens auront loeil sur les enfans de leurs quartiers, chacun à son esgard, d'exhorter les parens et aultres ayans charges denfans, d'auoir soing de l'instruction de leurs enfans, et de les faire enregistrer avecq les autres pour estre instruits en publicq.

Public profession of faith, and first communion.

9. Quand les enfans auront esté suffisamment instruitz, tellement quilz pourront respondre du sommaire de la doctrine ; lors ilz rendront raison

⁶ Fo. 10.

de leur foy publicquement deuant leglise, et ainsi seront receuz avecq prieres pour communiquer a la sainte Cene du seigneur.

Four Sundays
appointed for
public pro-
fession of
faith.

10. Pour cest effect il y aura quatre jours ordonnez, assauoir les dimanches precedens les Cenes de Januier, Auri, Juillet, et Octobre, esquelz jours ils respondront, à la mesme heure que le Catechisme a accoustumé d'estre enseigné.

Yearly visit of
exhortation to
each family by
Minister and
Elders.

11. Oultre tous les exercices il sera bon, autant que faire ce pourra, quil se face vne visite tous les ans de toutes les familles de leglise, et ce par le ministre et anciens des cartiers, afin d'exhorter vn chacun de profiter en la doctrine et pieté, et examiner comment on sacquite en cela de son deuoir; demandant a vn chacun raison de sa foy.

De la Prophetie.⁷

To follow herein
the custom in
other Churches.

1. Toutes les fois quil plaira à dieu faire ouuerture à⁸ lusage de la prophetie par la con-ferance et communication de ceux à qui dieu a donné

⁷ "La prophetie, laquelle gist a bien esplucher les mystères de lescriture, et a bien assembler le sens legitime d'ycelle."—Alasco, *Toute la Forme*, &c., 1556, sign. c 5. The Discipline of the English Reformed Church at Frankfort in 1557 provided "that prophesie be vsed euery fortnight in the Englishe tong for the exercise of studentes and edifinge of the congregation."—*A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Frankford*, &c., 1575, sign. a. Des Gallars in his *Forme* of 1561 had made provisions for "prophetie" closely resembling those of our MS. of 1589, sign. b ij v°. The practice of disquisitions upon the Scriptures for the exercise of the clergy was much encouraged by the early reformers, especially about 1571—1576, and in the diocese of Norwich they gained some notoriety. Queen Elizabeth, however, attempted to suppress them, in Norwich in 1574, and throughout England in 1577.—Strype's *Life of Parker*, ii., 358—362; *Annals*, vol. ii., part i., p. 477;

⁸ Fo. 10 v°.

le don d'interpretation des escritures, sera bon de mectre sur cest ordre comme on la veu par cy deuant practiqué en quelques eglises.

None to speak
except those
who are
capable.

2. Nul ne sera admis à parler en publicq sinon ceux qui seront trouvez capables et suffisans pourre faire, dequoy le jugement demourera aux ministres des lieux, et aultres jointz a la prophetie avec les anciens de l'eglise.

A list of
speakers to
be made.

3. Les noms de ceux qui auront esté trouvez suffisans seront mis en vn catalogue, et chacun d'eux proposera en son ordre du texte, que les ministres des lieux et autres jointz à la prophetie avecq les anciens de leglise auront aduisé.

The speaker
must keep to
his text.

4. Celui qui proposera suiura lexposition de son texte, raportant ce qui sera propre à lexplication dicelluy, observant les doctrines qui y sont enseignées sans faire aucune digression.

He shall only
speak three-
quarters of an
hour.

5. Il se contentera demployer trois quarts d'heure, affin de donner lieu aux aultres ausquelz dieu auroit donné quelquechose pour adjouster, et que par ce moyen le peuple ne soit trop longuement detenu.

Life of Grindal, p. 574. But the value of these exercises kept them in use notwithstanding the Queen's opposition. Strype finds them in 1585 in Chester (*Annals*, vol. ii., part i., p. 481), and the presence of these provisions in the Norwich French Church of 1589 is an indication how the foreign reformers were anxious to fall in with the views of their English brethren. It may be interesting to compare them with the regulations for prophesyings in Northampton, 1571, and Hertfordshire, 1574, given by Strype, *Annals*, *ib.*, pp. 133, 136, 472. The seven clauses above as to prophecy were left out in the London Discipline of 1641. By that time the practice had fallen into disuse.

Others who are fitting may speak on the same subject.

6. Il sera permis a tous aultres qui auront esté jugez capables de prophetiser dadiouster à ce qui aura esté dit, et dissouldre telle question qui pourroit estre proposée sur la matiere; touteffois on ce gardera d'user de redittes, ou proposer questions envieuses, ne seruans à ledification.

No disputing allowed, but at the conclusion difficulties to be examined carefully.

7. La conclusion estant faicte par les prieres, il⁹ ne sera licite à aucun d'user daddition nouvelle, mais, le peuple estant departy, tant le proposant que ceux qui auront adiousté, seront aduertis fraternellement s'il y auoit quelque chose à corriger en ce qui auroit esté par eux proposé, ce qui se fera par la compagnie de ceux qui se seront rangez à lexercice de la prophetie, et ceux des anciens qui se voudront la aussi trouuer, la ou on pourra examiner plus particulièrement les difficultez qui pourroient estre, tant aux versions quinterpretations et doctrines en toute modestie et moderation chrestienne.

De la proposition.

Students must be provided for the ministry.

1. Et pour ce quil est necessaire de pourueoir à ce que le ministere soit entretenu par continuelle succession en leglise, il sera bon de jetter loeil sur ceux qui pourroient estre propres, et aduertir, tant ceux en la puissance desquelz ilz pourroient estre, qu'eux mesmes, a ce quilz soient dediez à vn oeuvre si saint.

Candidates to meet weekly for study of the Scriptures;

2. Ceux qui se rangeront pour cest effect à la proposition s'assembleront vne fois du moins la sepmaine, en la presence du professeur et docteur

en theologie, sil y en a en ladite eglise, sinon des ministres, anciens, et diacres, qui sy pourront trouuer, expliquans à leur tour quelque liure de l'escriture qui leur sera assigné par le Consistoire.

*in form of
preaching and
exhortation.*

3. Ilz tascheront en traictant l'escriture de ce conformer, au plus pres quilz pourront, à la forme de prescher et exhorter conuenable a enseigner et edifier le peuple.

*Criticism of
this trial-
preaching.*

4. La proposition finie, celluy qui aura parlé sera aduertý de ce a quoy il a besoing de prendre garde, et accourragé de poursuiure de bien en mieux.

*Students should
attend theo-
logical lectures
and discussions.*

5. La ou il y auroict vn docteur seront les proposans exhortez de se trouuer aux lecons de theologie et aux disputtes,¹ lesquelles sil est possible seront dressées pour les rendre propres et conuaincre les contredisans, et se garder des tromperies, des sophistes, et hereticques.

Du baptesme.

1. Le baptesme se fera à la fin de la predication, et ne sera administré par aultre que par le ministre.

*Register of
Baptisms.*

2. Les noms des enfans baptisez seront enregistrez, avec les noms et surnoms de leurs peres et meres, et des parins et marines.

*Baptism of
illegitimate
children.*

3. Sil se trouue quelques enfans illegitimes, deuant que les presenter le Consistoire en sera aduertý, pour pourueoir au scandale qu'on pourroit venir.

¹ Fo. 11 vº.

Who may be
Sponsors.

4. On ne recevra pour parains aultres que gens fideles, de sens et d'aage suffisant, et qui soient receuz à la communion de leglise, ou qui promettront de se ranger a icelle pour leffectuer au plustost que faire ce pourra, tenans vne mesme confession de foy avec nous ; les aultres n'estans suffisans de faire promesse à leglise dinstruire les enfans comme il appartient.

Warning to be
given to the
Elder or
Deacon of the
quarter.

5. Celuy qui aura à presenter son enfant au baptesme y aduertira prealablement lancien, ou en son absence le diacre de son quartier, ou le plus prochain, et luy declarera quelz parrains il prend pour tesmoins du baptesme et auoir soing de l'instruction de l'enfant.

Those excom-
municated or
suspended from
communion
cannot be
Sponsors.

6.² Ceux qui auront esté excommuniez ou suspendus publiquement de la Cene ne pourront estre admis pour parains et tesmoins au Baptesme. Mais dautant quil y en a aucuns qui auront esté suspendus pour quelque temps seulement au consistoire, et apport de leur repentance, ilz y pourront estre receuz par laduis dudit consistoire.

De la Cene.

The Lord's
Supper to be
celebrated the
first Sunday in
each month.

1. Dautant que suiuant l'institution de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ l'usage de la Cene doit estre frequent entre les fideles, comme aussy il a esté obserué en leglise ancienne, jusques a ce que satan ayt renuersé ce saint ordre, exigeant au lieu dicelle le sacrifice abominable de la messe, a cest cause le saint sacrement de la Cene se celebrera en noz eglises tous les premiers dimanches des mois.

Public prayers
to precede
communion.

2. Lun des jours precedant la celebration de la sainte Cene se feront les prieres publiques, ausquelles sera conjoint vn aduertissement aux fidelles des choses qui concernent le deuoir d'un chacun, tant pour le regard des assemblées ecclesiastiques et exercices de pieté, que pour le reglement des familles et personnes particulieres, avec exhortation à chacun de ce preparer comme il appartient à la communion de la sainte Cene.

Communion
after the
sermon.

3. La predication et prieres au jour de la Cene acheuées, les ministres distribueront le pain et le vin par bon ordre et avec reuerence.

Warning to be
given to the
people.

4. Le dimanche precedant la Cene leglise en sera aduertie,³ affin que le peuple se dispose, et cependant que nul nayt a s'y presenter auant que dauoir faict profession de sa foy.

How new
comers shall be
received into
communion.

5. Quant aux estrangers et nouueaux venus, ilz sadresseront aux anciens de leurs quartiers pour estre proposez aux consistoire, ou ilz feront paroistre tesmoignage de leur eglise, si desja ilz ont esté receuz à la communion; et ou ilz n'auroient point esté auparauant receuz à la communion de quelque eglise, ilz nommeront des tesmoins qui puissent certifier de leur bonne vie et conuersation. Puis estans instruitz, silz en ont besoing feront profession de leur foy auant que d'estre admis, affin que nul n'aproche de la Cene à sa condempnation.

Abstinence
from com-
munion to be
censured.

6. Ceux qui se priuent et abstiennent volontairement de la Cene seront censurez, selon que le consistoire pourra cognoistre de la cause, distinguant ceulx qui le font pour quelques difficultez suruenuz en leurs espritz d'avec ceulx qui le font par mespris ou pour quelque mauvais regard et avecq continuation.

³ Fo. 12 v^o.

Des Mariages.

Persons under
age cannot
marry without
consent of
their Parents.

1. Les jeunes gens qui sont en bas aage ne peuuent contracter mariages sans le consentement de leurs peres et meres ou aultres en la puissance desquelz ils sont. Toutefois quant ilz auront peres ou meres tant desraisonnables quilz ne voudroient consentir au bien et profit manifeste de leurs enfans, le consistoire leur donnera aduis tel quil jugera estre conuenable; et quant a ceux qui sont hors de minorité, bien quilz eussent desia esté mariez ilz feront neantmoins⁴ cest honneur à leurs peres et meres de ne contracter mariage sans leur en communiquer premierement, et à faulte de ce seront appelez au consistoire.

Marriage
promises to be
in presence of
witnesses.

2. Tous fidelles en general, mesme ceulx qui sont en aage et jouissent de leurs droitz, seront aduertis de ne faire promesse de mariage, sinon en la presence de leurs parains, voisins, et aultres gens de bien.

To be made
in the
consistory.

3. Pour eviter plusieurs abus doresnauant, les promesses de mariage se recepuront aux consistoires, et feront les parties paroir de contract passé par deuant notaire, autant que faire ce pourra, quoy quil en soit en presence de tesmoins.

Publication in
Church.

4. Tous mariages seront publiez par trois dimanches en l'assemblée de l'eglise sans qu'on en puisse aucunement dispenser.

Can be made
on Sundays
before the
sermon.

5. Les mariages se celebreront deuant le presche en l'assemblée de l'eglise publique, tant des jours de dimanches qu'autres, exceptez les jours de la Cene et du Jeusne publicq.

⁴ Fo. 13.

Widows and
widowers
should wait
some time
before fresh
marriage.

6. Pour garder lhonestete et bien seance qui doit estre entre les chrestiens, les femmes vefues ne pourront estre receües à faire promesses de mariage plustost que quatre mois et demy apres le decedz de leurs maris, et les hommes seront exhortez d'attendre du moins quelques mois deuant que contracter nouveau mariage ; duquel deuant les promesses ilz aduertiront le consistoire.

Completion of
marriage
contract.

7. Si apres les annonces faictes les parties tardoient⁵ plus de six sepmaines sans celebrer leurs mariages, ilz les fauldra admonester et scauoir les em-peschemens qu'ilz peuuent auoir.

Formulaire des promesses de mariage.

Preliminary
inquiry.

8. Apres linqusition faicte, si les parties sont libres et hors des degrez prohibez par les loix, et semblablement du consentement de leurs parens, et silz sont d'accord et se tiennent pour contens des clauses et conuenances de leur mariage, et la priere estant faicte, celui qui recoit les promesses adressera son propos au futur espoux.

Form of
marriage
vows :—the
man ;

“ Vous, N., declarez deuant dieu en la presente compagnie que vous prenez pour vostre future femme et espouse N ; et comme telle vous promettez selon le commendement de dieu de l'aymer, entretenir, et en auoir soing en toutes choses et en quelque vocation ou condition quil plaira a dieu vous appeler, soit de santé ou malade, prosperite ou aduersité, viuant avec elle (et les enfans qu'il plaira à dieu vous donner) en la crainte du seigneur, pour seruir à sa gloire et edification de l'eglise.
the woman ; “ Et vous, N., declarez aussi deuant dieu en la presente assemblée que vous prenez N. ycy present pour

⁵ Fo. 13 v^o.

vostre futur mary et espoux et comme tel vous promectez, selon lordonnance de dieu, de laymer et honnorer avec obeissance [et d'] en auoir soing.

both to the
Church.

“Vous promettez aussi l'un à l'autre qu'après que vos promesses auront esté publiées en l'église, selon la coustume, vous ratifierez les promesses faictes presentement deuant la face de toute leglise.

“Dieu vous face la grace d'accomplir vos promesses avecq toute prosperité pour l'edification de leglise.”

De la visitation des malades.

Necessity for
the sick to seek
spiritual
consolation.

Dautant qu'on voit par experience que plusieurs sont nonchalans en leurs maladies, et aduersetz à chercher consolation en la parole de dieu, ayans plus de soing de secourir leurs corps que leurs ames, et ne regardans point à la source des maladies, pour en chercher le remede ou et comme il appartient; tellement que souuent il aduiendra qu'aucuns meurent sans auoir doctrine, admonition, ou consolation, laquelle touteffois pour lors est plus necessaire que jamais: Pour ces causes un chacun sera aduertý de demander consolation des le commencement de sa maladye, sans attendre qu'il soit du tout pressé ou abatu; et à ceste fin fera entendre sa disposition à l'ancien ou diacre du quartier, a fin d'estre visité et consolé d'heure; et selon que l'ancien ou diacre cognoistra la necessité il en aduertira le pasteur, pour aller visiter le malade, ce que touteffois se fera à heure oportune, afin quil ne soit distraict de sa charge.

De la Sepulture.

Burial in the
parish church-
yard.

1. Les morts seront honnestement ensepuelis et portez en terre, chacun au Cimetiere de la paroisse selon la coustume.

Simple burial
without super-
stition.

2.⁷ Il n'y aura aucune superstition ou pompe, toutefois il demeure en la liberte des parens et amis d'appeller telz quilz aduiseront pour le conuoy du deffunct.

Burial should
be between
twelve to
twenty-four
hours after
death.

3. On ne se hastera pas trop d'enterrer les morts, pour les inconueniens qu'on en a veu aduenir. Aussi pour euitier la corruption on ne les gardera trop longuement. Pourtant il sera bon de ne se point haster plus de douze heures au moins, avec grande consideration de la diuersité des maladies, et n'attendre plus de vingt quatre heures.

Registration
of deaths.

4. Les anciens et diacres aportiront par chaque mois au consistoire le nombre et noms de ceux qui seront decedez le mois precedent, tant des enfans qu'autres, et ce chacun en son quartier dont il sera faict registre garde au consistoire.

[Of the Officers.]

Forme de descharge.⁸

Form of
discharge on
resignation of
Elders or
Deacons.

Comme la charge des anciens et diacres n'est pas perpetuelle en ceste eglise, ains selon l'exigence des temps et personnes, on descharge quelquefois et les vns et les aultres. Cest pourquoy les freres N. N. nous ayans requis en consistoire assemblé, avec les diacres, d'estre soulagez vn chacun d'eux en sa charge, apres auoir meurement consideré et pesé leurs raisons en la crainte du seigneur, nous auons trouué bon de condescendre à la demande d'un chacun desditz nommez, vous declarans

⁷ Fo. 14 v^o.

⁸ In the margin here is written this note, "1611. Ceste forme sera leüe avec des termes propres à la coustume de ñre Eglise de Norwich."

que pendant le temps quilz ont exercé leurs charges, par la grace de dieu il se sont bien et fidellement acquitz de leur deuoir, et que⁹ nous sommes d'auis de les tenir pour deschargez auecq vostre consentement. Que si quelqu'un a quelque raison au contraire, nous le prions de la faire entendre au consistoire dedans huict jours pour l'examiner en toute crainte de dieu, aultrement nous vous exhortons tous à prier dieu auecques nous, à fin qu'il nous mette au cœur par son esprit de vous nommer selon l'ordre qui est en cette eglise hommes propres pour seruir en la place des susdits, et a vous de les accepter pour le bien et auancement de l'église.

Forme de nomination.¹

Nous vous auons cy-deuant fait entendre que les ministres, anciens, et diacres de ceste eglise, estans assemblez, auroient esté dauis que N. N., moiennant vostre consentement, fassent deschargez de leurs charges; et ensemble nous vous auons exhortez de prier dieu auec nous, afin que luy plust nous mettre au ceur par son esprit de vous nommer hommes propres et idoinés pour continuer en la charge des dessusdits, Ainsi est il que nous, les ministres, anciens, et diacres, estans assemblez au nom de dieu, et apres l'invocation de son saint nom, nous auons aduisé de vous nommer, N. N.; vous prians tous et exhortans que sil y a quelque chose cogneue d'aucun de vous qui empeschast que tous ou quelqu'un des dessus nommez ne peust ou ne deust exercer les dites charges, que² pour toute la sepmaine il en donne aduertissement au consistoire, ou a quelqu'un de ceux qui ont la charge en l'église;² a fin que les raisons estans examinees en la

⁹ Fo. 16.

¹ That is, of Elders and Deacons.

² In the margin the following words, in the same hand as the note of 1611, are written, to be substituted for the words pour eglise:—"quil en donne aduertissement dedans le terme du prochain consistoire."

crainte de dieu, on puisse proceder en³ la confirmation des dessusdits nommez, ou bien desister, selon qu'il sera trouué expedient pour le bien et edification de l'eglise.

Nomination of
Ministers.

De ceste forme se peult recoeuillir celle qu'on doit garder en la nomination des ministres de leuangille.

Forme de confirmation.

Comme dimanche dernier nous vous fismes entendre ceux que le consistoire avec les diacres auoient choisis pour N. N. en ceste eglise, afin que par vous ilz fussent acceptez ou refusez, selon les causes d'oposition qui par vous pourroient estre mises en auant; ainsi est il que huict jours estans passez, nous n'auons entendu ni seu⁴ [opposition ni empeschement quelconque de vostre part, ny d'ailleurs,] qui est la cause que presentement nous, estans conioints avec vous, ayans nommé les dessusditz, et vous les ayans acceptez et confirmez par vostre silence, nous les acceptons et confirmons avec vous tous, selon l'ordre de ceste eglise comme il sensuict. N. N.

Pour les Ministres.⁵

Oath of the
Pastor.

Vous donques N. [appellé à la vocation de pasteur], promettez deuant dieu est son eglise que vous luy seruirez fidèlement au ministere [de son St. Euangile], auquel vous estes appelez, annoncant purement la parolle de dieu [et administrant les S^{ts}. Sacramens selon l'institution de Jesus Christ], pour edifier leglise; et que vous n'abuserez point de sa doctrine [ceste charge] pour seruir a voz afections charnelles, ne pour complaire a homme

³ Fo. 15 v^o.

⁴ The words in brackets are written in the margin; they appear to have been omitted by the original transcriber.

⁵ The words between [] in this clause are interlineations in a later hand.

viuant, mais⁶ que vous en vserez en saine conscience pour seruir à sa gloire et vtilité de son peuple, auquel vous estes debtors. Vous promettez aussi de garder les ordonnances ecclesiastiques et la discipline receüe en ceste eglise ; et en ce que par icelle il vous est donné charge d'amonester ceux qui auront failly, vous en acquiter loyaument, sans donner lieu à hayne, faueur, vengeance, ou aultre affection charnelle, et en general de faire ce quil appartiendra à vous et fidelles ministres. Item vous promectez de garder et maintenir autant qu'en vous sera le bien et conservation de ce Royaume, procurer en ce que vous sera possible la paix et vnion dicelluy, et ne consentir aucunement à ce qui pourront contreuenir.

Pour les anciens.

Oath of the
Elder.

Vous N. N., appelez à la charge d'ancien, promettez à dieu et à son eglise que vous luy seruirez fidellement et aurez loeil sur tous ceux qui sont du troupeau de ceste eglise, et principalement ceux qui vous seront commis et baillez en charge ; procurerez autant qu'en vous sera, tant par exemple de vie, que par admonitions fraternelles qu'un chacun porte reuerence à la parole de dieu, assiste aux predications et aultres exercices de pieté, en randant son debvoir à dieu et à son prochain ; empescherez les scandalles, procurerez la paix et vnion de toute l'eglise en general ; et d'un chacun en particulier. Que vous n'abuserez point de ceste charge pour seruir a voz affections et conuoitises, ny pour plaire à homme viuant, mais cheminerez en pure conscience pour seruir à la gloire de dieu et edification de cette eglise. Vous promectez aussi de garder les ordonnances ecclesiastiques et la discipline receue en ceste eglise, mesmement en ce que par icelle vous est donné charge d'amonester ceux qui auront failly et tenir secretz⁷ les

⁶ Fo 16.

⁷ Fo. 16 vº.

affaires du consistoire, sans donner faueur à aucune partie, reueller audit consistoire ce qui sera besoing, et vous en acquiter loyaument sans donner lieu à hayne ny faueur, vengeance, ou affection charnelle, mais y proceder fidèlement, et faire tout ce qui apartient a vn loyal seruiteur de dieu et de son eglise. Item vous promettez de garder et maintenir autant qu'en vous fera, le bien et conseruation de ce royaume, procurer en ce que vous sera possible la paix et vnion diceluy, et ne consentir aucunement à ce qui y pourroit contreuenir.

Pour les diacres.

Oath for the
Deacons.

Vous N. N. promectez à dieu et à son eglise à seruir fidèlement en la charge en laquelle vous estes appelez, auoir soing des pauures et des malades, leur subuenir selon vostre vocation, et leur administrer selon ce qui vous aura este mis en main, les recommander ou le moyen vous sera donné, vous portans loyaument tant en la recepte qu'en la mise et dispensation des deniers qui auront esté donnez pour iceulx, et rendre compte toutes et quantes fois qu'il sera besoing. Item vous promettez de garder toutes les ordonnances eclesiastiques, et la discipline receus en ceste eglise, en tout ce qui apartiendra en ceste charge vous le raporterez tout en commun à la compagnie des aultres diacres, sans rien faire a vostre fantasie par faueur ou hayne, ne donnans lieu à voz appetitz et affections mauuaises, ains distribuans sans exception de personnes ou la necessité le requerra, vous portans en^s toutes choses comme bons et loyaux seruiteurs de dieu. Item vous promectez de garder et maintenir autant qu'en vous sera le bien et conseruation de ce royaume, procurer en ce qui vous sera possible, la paix et vnion diceluy, et ne consentir aucunement à ce qui y pourroit contreuenir.

^s Fo. 17.

Priere avec limposition des mains.

Le dieu de paix, qui par le sang du testament eternel a ramen  des morts, ce grand pasteur des brebis nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, vous conferme en toute bonne  uvre pour faire sa volont , afin que ce que vous ferez luy soit agreable, par Jesus Christ son filz nostre seigneur, auquel soit honneur et gloire a jamais. Amen.

Des Colloques et assembl es generales.

A yearly
meeting of
Deputies from
all French
Churches in
the Kingdom.

1. A fin d'entretenir la puret  de vie et doctrine, et ensemble lordre et vnion des eglises, il se fera d'an en an ou autre temps conuenable vne assembl e des deputtez de toutes les eglises de la langue francoyse qui seront en ce royaume, ou chaque eglise enuoyera vn ministre et vn ancien garny de memoires et instructions aprou es et signez par le consistoire, sans neantmoins oster la libert  aux ministres et anciens dy proposer comme d'euxmesmes ce quilz trouueront estre expedient.

President and
Secretary.

2. Le ministre qui aura presid  en lassembl e precedente fera la priere, et au deffault dicelluy le ministre du lieu ; apres laquelle se fera nouvelle election d'un president et d'un escriuain.

Record of
discussions
and acts.

3. Quant   diuerses questions et faictz particuliers proposez⁹ par les freres, ilz seront escriis et enregistrez quant ilz porteront consequence, et seront jugez vtiles pour la generalit  des eglises. Mais quant aux autres de moindre consequence, chacun se souuiendra de lauis et conseil donn  en la presente assembl e pour en faire raport   son eglise, et s'en seruir comme on cognoistra estre tres bon.

⁹ Fo. 17 v^o.

Privilege of
local Elders.

4. Les anciens du lieu auquel le colloque sera assemblé y pourront aussi assister, toutefois il ny aura qu'un dentre eux avec les ministres qui ait voix deliberative, pour eiter confusion.

Fraternal
discussion
as to Churches
and Pastors.

5. Finalement il y aura vne censure aimable et fraternelle de tous les deputtez, tant ministres qu'anciens, esuelles les eglises pourront mettre en auant ce quelles auront à dire touchant leur pasteurs, et les pasteurs au contraire.

Conclusion.

This Discipline
drawn up by
the Ministers,
Elders, and
Deacons of the
French
Churches in
England;

Ces articles de discipline ont esté dressez et aprouuez par les ministres, anciens, et diacres des eglises francoyses recoeuillies en Angleterre, ausquelz il ne sera permis à aucun de rien changer ou innouer de son autorité particuliere; toutefois il y a plusieurs articles qui ont esté dressez pour raison des circonstances des lieux, des temps, et des personnes, qui pourroient es eglises estre changez, moyennant que ce soit par bon¹ ordre et deliberation commune. Nous exhortons neantmoins tous les freres du troupeau

de se ranger volontairement à cest ordre, lequel nous a semble le meilleur et plus propre pour ledification des eglises quil nous a donnez en charge. Supliant bien humblement nostre bon dieu et pere par nostre sauueur vnicque nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, quil luy plaise estendre sa sainte benediction pour nous faire tous viure en vnion de doctrine, estans liez de charité mutuelle, et ainsi que de mesme coeur et volonté nous paracheuions nostre course à son honneur et gloire à ledification de

¹ Fo. 18.

leglise et nostre salut. A luy soit honneur et gloire et benediction à jamais, par Jesus Christ nostre sauueur, en la communion du saint esprit.²

This Discipline was read at Norwich, and approved, and signed 29 April, 1589.

Ce jourdhuy, 29 d'Apuril a. 1589, ces presents articles de ceste discipline ont esté leus en la presence des ministres, anciens, et diacres, de ceste eglise de la langue françoise, recueillye en Norwiche soubz la protection de la Serenissime Royne Elizabeth; que dieu garde longuement et heureusement! Lesquels estants approuuez ont esté semblablement par eux signez pour plus grande approbation diceux.

[The following signatures and dates are printed as far as possible in the position and order in which they stand in the original. This is important in some portions, because the dates were omitted to be written, and can therefore only be found approximately for certain names.]

Fo. 18.

Jan Marie, ministre.³

² Here the official hand ends. The following paragraph appears to have been added by one of the signatories.

³ The following is given, but without exact authority mentioned, in J. Southernden Burn's *History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England*, 1845, p. 77, as the list of Ministers in the French Church at Norwich. It will be seen that it does not entirely agree with the order of the names in this manuscript. Instead of *Daniel Durien* and *Adrian Delmé* we have *Jaques Polyander*; instead of *Germain le Roy* and *Pierre Hourtois* (but see these two names in 1596, p. 144.), we have *Philippe Delmé*; *Basiguy* takes the place of our *Piere d'Assigny*; *Pierre Chovein* is not in our MS., but we have *Pierre Des Reaux*, who does not appear in Burn's list at all.

H. Basnage,⁴ ministre.
Jaq. × baguelan, anciens.

Louys Desbonnetz,⁵ ancien
1589.

Lauren Herchar, ancien.⁶ Josse × Destaille, a[n]ciens.

Jaque le Rouge, ancien.

Jaques Polyander, Ministre.⁷ Simon de Lesvaux, ancien.

Jean Marie, 1583.

— Basnage, 1595.

Daniel Durien, 1600.

Adrian Delmé, 1616.

Peter de Lawne, 1618.

Germain le Roy, 1628.

Pierre Hourtois, 1631.

— Basiguy, 1646.

Isaac Clement, 1656.

Jaques le Fraury, 1658.

Jacobus Stockmans, 1665.

Pierre Chovein, 1685.

— Lavaux, 1691.

David Baldij, 1693—1710.

Jean Marie, Minister of Lion-sur-mer, came to England after St. Bartholomew, 1572. Later he returned to Normandy, but was recalled by the Church of Norwich in 1583, on which occasion the National Synod of Vitre requested that "on account of the great success of his ministry in these parts, his Church should be prayed to defer his recall for some time."—Haag, *La France Protestante*, 1847. His son Nathaniel, minister of the French church in Threadneedle Street, married Esther, sister of the Pierre de Laune of this MS.—*Col. Chester's Notes*.

⁴ It is not clear whether the first initial is H. or N. Basnage. He is the first of his family about whom anything is known. Mr. Smiles gives his name as Nicholas.—*Huguenots in England*, 1876, p. 361. His son Benjamin, born in 1580, is regarded as the head of the family, which has produced many eminent men on the Continent.—Haag, *La France Protestante*, 1847. The name occurs in the Register of baptisms and marriages of the French Church at Norwich (now at Somerset House). On 12 Feb. 1609, "Timothee basnage presente son enfant pour estre baptisé, et le non Anne, temoins Adrien langlar et elisee Desbonne, et la femme Jan fremaux et marie Didie." And the following ill-written entry probably refers to the same man, "le 28 jour doctobr 1604, a este celebre le mariage de timote bonnaige et de la fille Adrien lenglar."

⁵ "Ludovicus des Bonnets flander Drappier venit ante 9 menses. vxor sororius."—*Norwich Book of Strangers*. See before, p. 98, note 9.

⁶ The names Leinar Herrichar, 21 Sept., 1600, and Pierre Haychar, 11 July, 1609, appear among entries of baptism in the *Register*.

⁷ I do not know whether this Jaques were related to the famous Jean Polyander (otherwise Jean van den Kerckhoven) whose father and son were both named Jean.—Haag.

Pierre de Laune, Ministre.⁸

Philippe Delmé, ministre.⁹

Piere d'Assigny,² Ministre.

Isaac Clementt, ministre 13

Jacques le franc (?),¹ ministre.

Jacob Stockmans, ministre.

Fev. 1650.

[Le 1 Mars, 1688, Lacaux, pasteur.

D. Baldj, minist., le 4 mai, 1693.

Pierre Des Reaux, Ministre, le 14 Septembre, 1712.]³

Fo. 18 v°.

Paul × Ballon, diacre.

Jaque × polet, diacre.

⁸ This Pierre de Laune was second son of Peter Delaune, and grandson of William de Lawne, who was also a French Protestant minister, and brother to Gideon Delaune, the well-known apothecary to Kings James I. and Charles I. According to the funeral certificate of Gideon's wife, he was "descended from the ancient family of the Delaunes of Bellmenill in Normandy." Gideon and Pierre's father had studied medicine at Paris and Montpellier, and practised in France. He was admitted Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London 22 Dec., 1582. He was buried at St. Anne, Blackfriars, 19 Feb., 1610-11, as "Dr. of Physic." In his will, dated 2 Nov., 1610, he called himself "Preacher of the Word of God and Physician." Our Pierre de Laune was created D.D. at Cambridge by Royal Mandate, 5 Feb., 1635-6, and was living as late as 19 June, 1654, when he was named in his brother Gideon's will. His sister married the son of Jean Marie, see before, p. 139, note 3.—*Col. Chester's Notes.*

⁹ *Philippe Delmé, ministre*, in a clear bold hand in this MS., unquestionably appears to contradict Burn's list and Messrs. Haag's statement that *Adrien Delmé* was Pastor of Norwich and that Philippe was Pastor of Canterbury. An *Adrien De Le me* was diacre at Norwich before 1590.

¹ This name looks like *franc*; I cannot read it "Fraury" in accordance with Burn's list.

² "Dr. De Lawne having been presented with a benefice in the Church of England, the congregation elected M. D'Assigny in his stead; this gave rise to a contention of long duration, which was referred to the colloquy, the Doctor contending he could hold both appointments."—Burn, p. 77. Messrs. Haag say that he was Pastor of the Walloon Church in London from 1599. But this was more likely his father, who bore the same name. See note 8, above. As to the date of his appointment in Norwich see before, p. 111, note.

³ The names between brackets are written in the margin, beginning at the bottom, so that Des Reaux, 1712, is the uppermost.

Jaque Faruacque, diacre.
 Pierre × Gossait, diacre.
 Adrien de Le me, diacre.⁴

Jan de Lescluse, diacre.
 Jann Fienne, diacre.

Ce xvi de Juing, 1590, ces articles ont esté signez derechef
 par les diacres et anciens de cest an present.

Jan de Honueingneu.⁵ Jacques × Hayge.

Robert Godart, ancien.⁶

Jan le Feburé, Ancien.

Maximilien du Rien, ancien.⁷

Nouey × Leurent, diacre.⁸

Ce 14 de Juing,
 1593, ceste discipline

⁴ See note 9, p. 140. Rev. D. Agnew informs me that the names of Moyse de le Met and Adrien de le Met are mentioned as members of the congregation in 1595. In the *Register* of the church I note that the name of Adrian deleme occurs as a godfather, 30 August, 1601. Dr. Jessopp kindly sends a note of the will at Norwich of "Adrian deleme, son of Michiel, deceased, born at Normayn, being 54 years of age" at date of making will, 28 Sept., 1603. He had six children, Peter, James, Annis, Mary, Phillip, and Nathaniel. Francois Desmarets, Deacon in 1595, was "sworne clerk" and witness to this will. John Bodar and James le Greyn, who appear to be the same as our Jean Baudar and Jaque le Grin (after pp. 143, 144) were also witnesses. The latter married Adrien's daughter Mary. Jacques le Grin, both "ainé" and "josne" (elder and younger) appear on the *Register* in 1604.

⁵ This name appears in the *Register* under several forms, as Honneneau, 1600, Doingneau, 1610, and Doungntau, 1616.

⁶ A Robert Goddarte was one of the six Masters of the French makers of woollen stuffs in Norwich, admitted under letters patent of 2 Elizabeth, 1565.—Blomfield, vol. ii., p. 201. "Robertus Godardus Insulensis Drappier des Draps des Bayes venit ante duos annos cum dimidio cum uxore filijs duobus et tribus filiabus."—*Norwich Book of Strangers*, mentioned before, p. 98, note 9.

⁷ The names of Christien Cornille and Adrien de Leme, together with Maximilien Durien and Jehan le Febure, appear in a document of 28 Feb., 1592, touching a sum of money belonging to the daughter of a Frenchman, a note of which has been kindly made by Mr. W. Rye. It is contained in some worn leaves of an old book in the hands of Mr. De Witt of the late Dutch Church of Norwich.

⁸ An entry of marriage in the *Register* on 24 August, 1600, shews the name Nicholas Leuren.

Jan Mortetette, diacre.	a este sygnee par les
Jan le Leu, diacre.	anciens et diacres qui
Noe ⁹ × Lorent.	sont en charge.
Guillaume Ployart, anchin. ¹	Du 5 doctobre, 1594,
Bastien Bornar, Anchin.	Chrystyen Cornylle, ² ancien.
Jan Watelier, Anchien.	Liennart de Herissart.
Nicollas Doutren (?), enchin.	Franchois Desprez. ³
Hugue Herbert.	
Michie Lescaillet.	Jan Cornillo, diacre.
	Pierre Tibau. ⁴
	Pieron Selosse.
	Melchior Dydyer.

Fo. 19.

Jacques Faruacques.⁵

Noe le Duc.

Ce 4 doctobre, 1595, ces presens articles ont este signez
par les freres cy dessoub; signes.

⁹ This name is written under the words "sont en charge" in the MS.

¹ Mathieu Ploiart, 30 August, 1601, is found among baptismal entries in the *Register*. The name occurs several times.

² See note 7 on p. 141.

³ Francois Dupres and Baudin Bugar signed the Petition of 1608. The name of the latter as "Bowdwyn Bugar, weaver," occurs in the list of strangers in Norwich, June, 1622, printed by W. Durrant Cooper.—*Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens in England* (Camden Society), 1862, p. 20. The name is found under different forms in the *Register*. Under baptisms, 24 Oct., 1608, Daniel and Ester Bourgarre appear; but the greatest disguise of Baldwin Bugar was Boduin Bourgade, 19 Oct. 1600. See note, p. 111.

⁴ Piere Thibault occurs on the *Register*, 26 Feb., 1597.

⁵ On comparing this name with those in the *Register*, it is clearly Farvacque, not Farnacque; it occurs spelt with a v, as Marie Farvarque; and again, on 5 Feb., 1636, Bauduin Burgar and Jaque Faruacque (the u with the distinguishing mark) were godfathers at a baptism. The copyist of the Petition (before, p. 111) took the u for an n, and so added to his misspelling of the word.

Thomas Bonel, ancien.	Franschois Desmaretz, diacre. ⁵
Ce 3 du Juillet, 1596, ⁶ a este lue la discipline ecclesiastique et signee par les freres qui estans en charge ne lont signee par cy devant.	Guillaume Desbonnet. Baudin Bugar. ⁷ Jan Watreluz.

Ce 12 daoust, 1596, a este lue la discipline ecclesiastique, et appreuuee et signee par les freres qui sont en charge ne layan encor signee.

Gille Gambie.

Jan Hendeleu.

Herry Lechref.(?) X

Marq Le Feure.

Simon Duquennois.

Jean Baudar.

Simon Des[-]

ormeaux.

Jaques Lescaillet.

Daniel Bonnel.

Jan Hauet.

Estienne de Lo.

Elyse Desbonnet.²

Jan Lescaillet, Diacre.

Abraham Castel, diacre.

Nicolas(?) Lescaillet, deiacre

Joel Desormeaux, diacre.⁸

Nicolas Du tourot.⁹ (?)

Jean Desmares, Ancien.

Philippe Le secar.

Adrien Lecaux.

Abraham de le montaine.

Louy Deshageues.

Jean Freumault.¹

Denys Jermyle.

⁵ See before, note 4, p. 141.

⁶ This date was first written 1596, afterwards the 6 was written over and made into a 5, apparently by the same pen that wrote Jan Watreluz; but it seems this afterthought must have been a mistake. The writer was probably wishing to get all the signatures, some of which were behindhand, recognized under their due date, 4 Oct., 1595.

⁷ See note 3 on p. 142.

⁸ Joel Desormeaux lived in the parish of St. Peter's Hungate, the Register of which shows that he had five children baptized at the French Church between 1600 and 1612. He was later involved in the disputes of 1621; see note before, p. 111. There seem to have been two of the name, for the Marriage Register records, under date 1604, the union of Joel Desormeaux and Elizabet le Turque.

⁹ This name is not distinct.

¹ Jean Fremault signed the petition of 1608. Jaques Fremault appears under 1623, and Joel Fremoult under 1690.

² See this name a few years later as witness at a baptism, note 4 before, p. 139.

Jaque le Grin.³
Jan le Foutre.

Jan Fromentin.
Pierre Hautois.
Germain le roy.

Fo. 19 v°.

Ce 4^{me} de Jullet, 1615, ceste presente Discipline a este leue en la presence des Anciens et Diacres estans a present en charge et sousignee par les suivans qui ne l'avoient sousignee auparavant.

La marque
de Jean I M Moulin.
Jan Doueneaw.

Nicolas Descelles.
Jean Castel.
Jean le Febure.

Ce 29^{me} de May, 1621, La Discipline contenue en ce liure a esté leue de point en point au Consistoire, les Diacres estans presens, entre lesquels aucuns qui ne lauoyent signee auparavant y ont a present souscrit leurs noms en tesmoignage de lapprobation dicelle.

Ilande de Lescluse.

Jean Marlyere.

Salomon Canbie.⁴

Noe Hudeleu.

Jacque Stequelin.

Nathan Desbonnet,⁵ diacre

Jaques Fremault, diacre⁶

Jean de Latette, diacres

Isaac Decele, diacre

} ont signé ce 22 d'Auril, 1623.

³ Probably son-in-law to Adrien de le Me, before, p. 141.

⁴ The marriage of Salomon Quanbie and Ester Desbonnes in 1611 is recorded on the last page of the Register of the church. Solomon Camby, weaver, of East Wymer Ward, Norwich, was returned in 1622 as "borne of parents strangers."—W. D. Cooper's *Lists of Foreign Protestants*, p. 21.

⁵ Nathan Desbonnett, weaver, appears in the list of those "borne of parents strangers" in West Wymer Ward, Norwich, 1622.—W. D. Cooper's *Lists of Foreign Protestants*, p. 19. We have the name Desbonnet also in 1589, 1595, and 1596, see before, pp. 139 (and note 4), 143.

⁶ The name of Jaques Fremaux is found at Canterbury in 1621-22.—Cooper's *Lists*, &c., p. 8.

le 2^{ne} de Decemb. 1658, ont signe la presente discipline.

Elisha Phillippo	}	Ancien.
David Loti ?		
Jean Dame		
Onias Phlippo *		

Ce 7^{ne} de Septemb. 1660, ont signe la presente dicipline.

La marque de × Philippe Rosul.

Jean Dancy.

Philippe Marleir.

la marque de × Jean Lettré.

Josias Carpentie.

la marque de × pierre Feré.

Jaques du Prie.

la marq. de Pierre × Le Dru.

Fo. 20 v^o.

Pierre Baiar.

Jean Des sauvage.

Jean Marlier.

David Darcy.

Jean Hauee.

Isaac Castell.

Jude Hauet.

Jaques le roy.

Josses Carpenter.¹

Piere Carpentier.

* "Isaize Hapio et Jan le Coq et sa femme, et Jaque Pigné et sa femme, et Onias Phillipo et sa femme, et la femme de Sebastien Tavernier, ont reconnu leur faute de s'estre mariée sans leur annonces, contre la discipline."—Burn, p. 79, query quoted from the book of *Actes*. "Sebastian taverniers et Onias philippo" were witnesses to a baptism on 9 May, 1686.—*Register*.

¹ 19 Oct., 1673, the child Piere of Joses Carpentier was baptised, Piere Carpentier being witness.—*Register*.

Ce 3^{me} de Julet, 1690, ont signe la discipline.

Jean du moullin.

la marcq de x Henery le Cerfe.

Jan Fere.

Joel Fremoult.

John de Cleve.

Ce 28 Juin ont signe la discipline [? 1695.]²

François la Colombine.³

Gaston Martineau.²

Augustin De Cleve.

Jaques Feré.

² The name of Gaston Martineau first occurs in the *Register* in November, 1695, on the baptism of his son. "In the French church at Norwich is a tablet in memory of 'Gaston Martineau of Dieppe, surgeon, who left France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and settled at Norwich in 1695; and of David Martineau his son, likewise a skilful surgeon. He married Elizabeth Finch, by whom he left one son and two daughters, and died 29th May, 1729, aged thirty-two. And also of his son David Martineau, born in 1726, and who died 19th November, 1768, aged forty-two, also a surgeon. He married Sarah Meadows, who died in 1800.'"—W. D. Cooper's *Lists of Foreign Protestants* (Camden Society), 1862, Pref., p. xxvii. Gaston Martineau was made "free Denizen" of England by warrant of 25 March, 1688.—*Ib.* p. 56. He married in 1693, at the French Church in Spitalfields, called La Nouvelle Patente;—"Gaston Martineau M^{re}. Chirurgien son of Elie Martineau and Marg^{te}. Barbesson, and Marie Pierre d. of W^m. Pierre and Marie Jourdain de Diepe en haut Normandie."—Burn, p. 173; Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France*, Index Volume, p. 211.

³ A tombstone in the French Church at Norwich, records the death of Paul Columbine, 30 August, 1784, aged 85, "descended from an ancient family in the Province of Dauphiny in France, from whence his father, a man of piety, probity, and learning, withdrew at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and having taken early a degree abroad, practised physick in this city."—Burn, p. 79, taken from a certified copy at the end of the *Register*. The father was probably this Francois la Colombine. Paul was his youngest son.

Jean De La Haize.⁴

James Lormier.

Tho. De La Haize.⁴

⁴ A Norman family of this name came into England after the Revocation.—Haag, *sub nom.* La Haize, *La France Protestante*. The Rev. D. Agnew says, "the first of the name on record is in the Register of the *Artillerie* French Church in London, Moyse Delahaize and Marie Alavoine his wife, 1715."—*Protestant Exiles from France*, Index Volume, 1874, p. 216. But he himself gives an "Isaac De la Haye" as naturalized in 1693, *Ib.* p. 55. The Norwich MS. here supplies the "missing link."

The Clocher of Norwich Cathedral, &c.

BY THE LATE JOHN L'ESTRANGE.¹

THE late Mr. Harrod, in his *Gleanings amongst the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, was the first to point out that in the Precinct of the Cathedral Church of Norwich there was, in 1272, at the time the convent was attacked by the citizens, a detached bell tower or Clocher.² The account given by Bartholomew Cotton, whose Chronicle has been published by the Master of the Rolls, distinctly mentions, as noticed by Mr. Harrod, two belfries, one near the great gates of the church, the other over the choir. Some years after the publication of Mr. Harrod's book I was making some searches on behalf of the Dean and Chapter in their "Register" and "Ledger Books," and Mr. Harrod then suggested that it should be ascertained, if possible, from the abutments of the old leases of property in the Precinct, exactly where the clocher stood, and the date of its demolition. From these leases I ascertained with tolerable certainty that the clocher stood a little south of the gate now called the

¹ This paper will be read with melancholy interest by those who knew the writer. It was literally the last he wrote, and was written by him entirely from memory, he of course having no opportunity of consulting authorities.

² A detached bell tower remains at Chichester Cathedral. Salisbury formerly had one. At the parish church of East Dereham is an interesting example of a central lantern and a detached clocher.

Erpingham Gate; that it neither abutted on that building nor on the Precinct wall, but that it stood across the walk or path now leading from the so-called Ethelbert Gate to the Erpingham Gate; which path has only been levelled within the last hundred years. Having taken some pains to arrive at this conclusion, I was pleased some time after when examining Braun's well-known View of the City of Norwich, taken from the west, to find that the clocher was shewn as then (1579) standing, and that on the very spot I had determined from the evidence of the early leases. It is worth mentioning, as showing how much more valuable an original is than the most careful copy, that Taylor's very interesting View of the City in his *Index Monasticon*, which view is admittedly copied from Braun, does *not* shew the clocher.

If, as some have supposed, Bishop Herbert did not build the central tower higher than the lantern, it seems probable that he may have erected the clocher. But having no evidence, I will not waste time in conjecture. Excavations, which could easily be made, and without much expense, may one day disclose the foundations of the clocher to speak for themselves.

There may be no evidence to shew when the clocher was erected, but the Sacrists' Rolls for the first ten or fifteen years of the fourteenth century contain, year after year, accounts of considerable repairs to the clocher, rendered necessary, no doubt, by the injuries it had sustained in the riot of 1271. It may excite surprise that these damages should not be repaired for just thirty years, but of course the church itself had the first claim; and amongst other important works which had been executed was the erection of a spire of wood and lead on the central tower, which occupied six years, *i.e.*, from 1291 to 1297, as may be seen in the Sacrists' Roll of the latter year. I had at various times opportunities of examining nearly all the

Sacrista's Rolls; of several I made transcripts, and from many took copious extracts, but found little concerning the clocher. It appeared, however, that it had five bells in it, and was surmounted by a vane. From Braun's View it appears to have had a small spire, probably of wood covered with lead.

Now, with regard to the date of its demolition or dilapidation, I found from the Ledger Books that in 1562 one Mr. Huggins had petitioned the Earl of Leicester that certain buildings in the Cathedral Precinct should be granted him. Amongst these were the *library, then standing empty, and the clocher*. To this, as may be supposed, the Dean and Chapter were by no means willing to consent, and various good and sufficient reasons were brought forward why these buildings should be allowed to stand. The clocher, said the Dean and Chapter, was not only an ornament to the city as well as to the church, but it was so built that to pull it down would be the sudden ruin of the church by reason of the south-west winds, and there was no other place to hang the bells to call to divine service.

I find that in 1572 the Dean and Chapter having sold certain bell-metal and lead to the value of £200, entered into a bond with the purchaser to deliver the same to him at the clocher. It seems probable that the bell-metal may have been that of the clocher bells,³ sold prior to its being dilapidated.

Some ten or a dozen years later a lease of certain premises in the Precinct was enrolled in the Ledger Book, which lease was at the time, on examination of the seal, suspected to be a forgery, and therein the clocher was mentioned as being dilapidated or ruinous. This is the last notice I have of the structure. I failed to find mention

³ This could be, one would imagine, ascertained from the Chapter Records, but I had no opportunity of pursuing the investigation.

of it in the Parliament survey of the Dean and Chapter property taken during the Commonwealth. I should add, however, my examination of that record was but cursory. The earlier leases, by their parcels and abuttals, throw much light on the topography of the Precinct, and a plan of the Close, as it was from thirty or forty years after the Dissolution, might be in great measure constructed from them.

We learn the situation of the Almonry (spelt Ambry), the Almonry Green, and the Almonry Oak. The Dean and Chapter were, until recently, lords of the manor of "Amners sub quercum," the court for which used to be held at the Horseshoes Inn, in Palace Street, the last of the taverns which flourished in the Close. Originally, no doubt, this was the Almoner's manor, and the court was probably held under the Almonry Oak.⁴ A pathway led from the great gates by the porter's lodge across the Almonry or Ambry Green into the cloisters through the Ostry Hall. Norfolk people then, as now, dropped the aspirate, and Ostry stands in the same relationship to Hostry and Hostlery as Ostler to Hostler and Hosteler. This Ostry Hall was the noble apartment on the east side of the cloister, otherwise known as the Strangers' or Guest Hall, of which now only the east wall remains, in which are some of the circular double-splayed windows, by Mr. John Gunn considered to be Saxon.

The ruins of the porch of this hall yet remain, and a woodcut of them appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in 1847, when the Archæological Institute visited Norwich. It is singular that Mr. Harrod should have omitted this porch from his ground-plan of the church and conventual

⁴ The house to the south of the Ethelbert Gate, lately occupied by Mrs. Wright, and now by Dr. Copeman, stands on the site of the Almonry. On the green in front of this house there still grows an oak which, however, is but comparatively a young tree.

buildings, and fixed the principal entrance to the convent at the locutory or parlour. Close by the Ostry Hall were the lodgings of the Prior of Lynn and the lodgings of the Prior of Yarmouth, when those dignitaries visited the mother house. There are mentioned, without the sites being indicated, the library, the common hall of the Minor Canons, and the dortery or dormitory. We find also that the brew-house, which stood at the east end of the lower square, then the Brewery Green, was early in Queen Elizabeth's reign leased with all its utensils to one of the citizens. Then there was the granary on the north side of the Brewers' Green, up to which it is said under the water-gate came the canal shown in one of Buck's Views of the City, fringed with willows, the last of which has but recently decayed. Close by this canal was the Swannery, and this part of the Precinct was shut off by the "gate leading to the ferry," which was standing at the close of the 17th century, when the house erected on the site of the brewery was built. The hinge staple yet remains in the south wall of the house.

Most, if not all, of these leases grant free ingate and outgate by the great gates of the church, and also by the great gate leading to St. Giles' Hospital, which gate had a tower over it. This stood perhaps north of the brew-house, (nearly even with the gate leading to the ferry) across the way now leading to Bishopgate Street through the gardens. A high blank wall on the north side of this way looks like the side of a gate. There would appear to have been another gate adjoining the house, at one time occupied by Mr. Ollet, the Cathedral carpenter, and now by Mr. B. W. Spaul, his successor. And this reminds me that in 1560, and for long subsequent, the masons' and carpenters' houses stood at the north end of the Ambry Green, now the upper square, and not far off the clocher. A stationer's shop was close by.

Not only do these early leases, as I have said, throw light on the topography of the Precinct, but we can learn somewhat from them as to what took place shortly after the Dissolution to the church itself. Thus I was able some years ago by their means to identify the apsidal chapel attached to the north transept as St. Ann's Chapel,⁵ and to fix the situation of St. Andrew's Chapel and the Sanctuary Men's Chamber. The Relic Chapel, mentioned and demised in a subsequent lease of evidently the same premises, was either identical with this last-mentioned chamber, or it occupied the gallery in the north aisle, which I have conjectured to have been erected for the "imago principalis" or image of the Holy Trinity. Subsequent discoveries have shewn that this gallery was actually a chapel, and most elaborately adorned with fresco paintings, executed apparently shortly after the fire of 1271. The ascent to this gallery from the aisle was by a circular staircase at its north-west corner, and from the presbytery it was reached by steps on the west side of the easternmost arch of the Perpendicular arcade. These steps account for the arrangement of the Perpendicular cases shewn in one of Mr. Harrod's woodcuts (p. 290) which he thought was due to the Easter Sepulchre having been erected there. His explanation that the hagioscope, or quarterfoiled opening (which commands a view of the altar in the Jesus Chapel) at the other end of this arch, was made in order to watch the sepulchre light, always appeared to me as unsatisfactory as the notion which had obtained that it was to hear confessions through. If, as Mr. John Gunn remarked to me, this gallery was the Relic Chapel, its name as preserved

⁵ St. Ann's was, Blomefield tells us, called sometimes Berney's Chapel, from John de Berney and his wife Ann who were buried there. His will is in *Reg. Heydon*. This chapel is now the furnace-house. In digging for the foundations of the chapel the skeletons of a male and female had to be removed from their graves in front of the altar.

by Blomefield—"the Confessionary"—which must not be confounded with "Confessional," becomes at once intelligible. Recessed in the vaulting of this gallery, just beneath its floor, was found a small recess or aumbrye lined with wainscot, which may have been the repository of some popular or highly venerated relic, or perhaps one of the numerous pixides (to receive the voluntary oblations) which we know from the Sacrists' Rolls were to be found in various and numerous parts of the church at the principal objects of devotion, such as the High Altar or Holy Trinity, the Black Cross, the Tomb of Bishop Walter, the Shrine of St. William, the Relics, the three Kings, Our Lady of Pity, and so forth. I briefly drew attention in the *Eastern Counties Collectanea* to the paintings in the Relic Chapel shortly after their discovery, but it is much to be desired that this gallery and its surroundings should be adequately described and illustrated by some competent person. The demolition of the Lady Chapel of Bishop Walter Suffield has been generally attributed to Dean Gardiner: unjustly so I am inclined to believe, as I found a lease of "Our Lady's Garden" dated prior to his decanate, from which it appeared that the walls of the building alone remained, and those for no very great height.

When the position of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, at the date I have referred to, as large land-owners, appropriators of the tithes and patrons of many livings, is considered, it will be understood that their lease-books or ledgers cannot fail to be of interest to the local antiquary and topographer. Moreover, there are transcribed into these Ledger Books many letters received from the Queen, the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other high officers of State, with, in some instances, copies of the answers thereto.

What little the antiquarian public in general know of the important records preserved in the treasury of the Dean

and Chapter of Norwich, is to be found in the Appendix to the First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The learned Dr. Prideaux, so long connected with the Cathedral Church as Prebendary and Dean, collected and arranged the scattered evidences of title and other documents, which we are told were before in a sadly disordered state; and a small quarto volume of his collections is preserved at the Deanery.

That the present Dean takes a lively interest, not only in the preservation and restoration of the fabric, but also in its history and antiquities, is well witnessed by the magnificent volume on the Roof-sculptures, and also by the fact that he has in the press a Life of the Founder, with translations of his letters and sermons.⁶

Is it too much to hope, it is certainly to be exceedingly desired, that under Dr. Goulburn's auspices the antiquarian public may be more fully and indeed perfectly informed of the nature of these records, which should be made available for use by the more important of them being printed or at least calendared? Many years since, the present Bishop of Worcester, when Master of Catherine Hall and Canon of the Cathedral, made a calendar of the *Registrum Primum*, or at least of the most important part thereof, which is now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, and is of so much value and interest, that whilst one is grateful to the learned dignitary for what he has done, and done so well, one cannot but regret that he did not extend his labours to some of the other registers or chartularies, which, whilst they repeat much that is to be found in the *Registrum Primum*, contain much additional matter of the highest interest. It is well known that William of Worcester visited Norwich, and that in his *Itinerary*, which is preserved in the Corpus

⁶ Since published.—Ed. N.A.M.

Library at Cambridge, he gives a description as well as a history of the building of the "claustrum famosissimum" of the Cathedral. This is translated from Nasmith, in Mr. Harrod's *Gleanings*; but he did not know that there was a more accurate copy in the *Registrum Primum*, in hand-writing, which, if not William of Worcester's own, is at least contemporary with his visit.

The Account Rolls, mostly annual, of the various obediaries, and even of the minor officers, would furnish forth a goodly and interesting volume, containing not only much information as to the church and convent, but also as to the churches, or at least the chancels of the various churches appropriated to the several offices of Cellarer, Sacrist, Precentor, &c. Neither their number nor their bulk⁷ should raise doubts as to the practicability of printing them. The receipts, with here and there an exception, remain the same year after year, and although by no means devoid of interest, but little space need be occupied by them.

It is of course to the payments that the greater interest attaches. Thus the Sacrists' Rolls furnish us with the expenses of carrying on divine worship and the ceremonies and rites connected therewith in a large conventual and cathedral church, situate in a populous city. There are also many rolls in which are to be found items relative to important repairs, additions or alterations to the fabric; indeed, there is scarcely a roll from which some unusual or interesting item may not be extracted. Thus, in one year a new box or case is made for a relic, such as the milk of the Blessed Virgin; in another year the crown of the image of the Holy Trinity is scoured and gilt, or a pair of shoes bought for it, or a new coat of red buckram

⁷ They commenced shortly after the great riot and fire of 1272; but there are very lamentable gaps in the series. As regards their bulk, some are five feet long.

is made for the Second Person of the Holy Trinity; another year we find that some sacrilegious thief having stolen a collar from the image, it had to be redeemed of the sheriffs.

The Pittancers' Rolls of the first half of the fourteenth century contain the expenses of building the cloister, the income of that office having been set apart by the convent for that purpose.

The Precentors' Rolls contain the expenses of repairing the organs and books.

The Gardeners' Rolls could not fail to throw some light on the horticulture of the period, indeed it must be obvious that in such a collection of accounts, extending over a period of more than two centuries and a half, (1272—1536) much valuable information must necessarily be contained.

I have said nothing, because I know but little of the regal and ecclesiastical charters or of those of private persons preserved in the treasury; but there must be attached to many of them impressions of early, curious, and interesting seals, which would be well worth illustration.⁸

⁸ How successfully the permanent photographic process employed by *Messrs. Sawyer and Bird* may be used for the illustration of seals, can be seen in the plate at the end of the "Roof Sculptures."

Crime and Accident in Norfolk

IN THE TIME OF HENRY III. AND EDWARD I.

BY WALTER RYE.

THE following pages are free translations of so much of the Crown Plea Rolls for Norfolk of the 34 Henry III., 41 Henry III., 52-53 Henry III., and 14 Edward I., as relate to the Hundred of North Erpingham. Though originally made only for my own use, when compiling materials for a forthcoming history of that hundred, they seem to me of sufficient interest to the general public to warrant my printing them¹ if only to serve as a very small sample of the wealth of material which exists for a history of the whole county. To any one studying the growth of surnames and the antiquity of low-born families whose names do not occur in the rolls and records referring to landowners only, which are usually consulted by antiquaries, the Crown Pleas are of the highest importance. Those who care for criminal statistics will find some material to their hands, though the gaps which one can hardly doubt exist in the series of rolls must spoil their value to a great extent.

Sixty-one violent deaths are recorded, of which twenty-eight were accidents, eight (half men and half women) suicides,

¹ I am not aware that any specimens have been hitherto published except an analysis of a Crown Plea and Gaol Delivery Roll for Norwich and Lynn, 5 Edward III., which I printed at pp. 148—153 of vol. iii. of the *East Anglian*.

four manslaughters, one chance medley, and twenty murders. The murders show a wild state of life. A man is entertained in a woman's house and slays her in the night. A man and a woman lodge in a man's house and kill him in the night. Two men kill another in the night. A man and a woman kill the latter's husband and hide his body in a marl pit. Two men and a woman kill two women in the night. Two men are found killed in the night, and so on; while unknown men are found slain respectively in the fields at Hanworth, on the king's highway, near the briars at East Beckham, and with neck twisted in Aylmerton field. Much of the county, by the way, seems to have been overgrown with briar, for the Beckham briars are twice mentioned, and the name of William "de la Bruere" of Gunton occurs.

There is not as much about the inner life of the people as might have been expected, though curious entries occur now and then: such as when we read that John, the priest of Gimmingham, had a child born to him in the rectory by his concubine Constance, and that the bailiff broke in, and removing her, bed and all, to the hall, locked her up till the priest paid 40s. to get her back again. Bartholomew, Chaplain of Betele, too, is tried for assaulting Richard at the church of Sustead; but these are the only disreputable clerks we find.

Much more noticeable are the many entries relating to extortion and bribery, and to oppression. The jury present in 14 Edward I., that William de Redeham, late sheriff, William Giffard, formerly sheriff, and William de Rothyng, then sheriff, extorted various sums from different persons.

When sheriffs were guilty, it is unreasonable to suppose bailiffs, sub-bailiffs, and warreners would remain innocent; and details of their different extortions will be found in the text. Interesting early examples of bribes given to be excused serving on juries will be found at pp. 192—193.

The worst offender, however, decidedly was John de

Melwode, Earl Warren's bailiff of Gimmingham—a lordship which stretched over seven other parishes. He seems to have acted in an extremely high-handed manner, punishing a well-to-do squire² for obeying the king's summons in his liberty, and even oppressing a brother bailiff, and when convicted, to have made his peace by paying the king a fine of £100 and promising restitution to those he had wronged. His pledges or sureties for the fine were some of the best men in the hundred, including, curiously enough, one of the De Repps family. It is not to be wondered at, by the way, that we find alongside the entries of oppression, memoranda that the bailiffs collected money due to the king, and failed to account for it (p. 186).

Others also of Earl Warren's retainers appear in the character of oppressors: for William de Goldingham, formerly his seneschal, and Hugh de Welingham his servant, have to answer for false imprisonment, and John Gyffin his bailiff for illegal pounding. The retainers of John de Merley of Sherringham also seem to have been an unruly lot, for two of them are accused of two different acts of violence. Nor could the followers of John or Jolanus³ de Vallibus of Holt have been much better, for one of them murders a man, and another commits burglary. Servants of Robert de London and Henry de Brom were also found guilty of murder and theft; while of mercenaries we get one glimpse when we read of Roger de Waleys, "a certain foreign malefactor," who killed a Beeston man and went to sanctuary.

As in many other county records, there are so many misspellings of names and places, that one is irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that the scribe must have been no local man, but attached to the justices wherever they went, and, of course, unacquainted with the names of

² Edmund de Repps.

³ The scribe, and not I, must be answerable for this doubtful reading: the name occurs twice, and each time differently.

the Norfolk villages and people. Such errors as Hereworth and Hankeworth for Hanworth, Gillingham for Gimmingham, Thurverton for Thurgarton, Colebrug for Coleby, Aylwarton for Aylmerton, Fremelingham for Felmingham, and Walsingham for Walesham could only be the results of the mis-reading of hasty notes, as they would not have occurred to any local writer, who would have had the names of the places at his fingers' ends. The duplicates of the rolls, of which there are several, differ, too, very strangely, *e.g.*, Binham is called, in a duplicate, Sparham, and, in a triplicate, Braham (p. 168). The persistent way in which, not only in these rolls but in other early records, "field" is spelt "feud" is worthy of notice, as it is just possible that the former is only a popular version of the latter, created, as is so often the way with rustics, through a desire to make some sort of sense out of every name they hear.

Occasionally we get a hint or two as to the derivation of the place's name by the old spelling, *e.g.*, Aylmerton is here spelt Athelmerton.⁴ A more interesting "find," however, was the discovery of a reference to a village called *Markesthorp*, the existence of which has never yet been suspected, and which one may presume was one of those which, like Shipden, was washed away by the sea.

Thorp Belet, too, is a new name for Thorpe Market, nor can I trace how it obtained that name, nor any connection with the Belet family. Edesore also is another locality not hitherto known, as is Keteshall in Gunton.

Curious nicknames such as Goosefoot, Razorside, Old-herring appropriately joined with Thirst, Cockshitineye, and Childfather are common, and we also find people of as well known surnames as Caundos and Pole (pp. 172 and 166) (a curious conjunction) moving in a lower state of life

⁴ Munford in his *Local Names*, p. 51, derives it from Aylmer-[Ægelmaere] ton; but, besides the instance quoted in the text, I find it Adelmerton in *Feet of Fines, Norf.*, Rich. I., No. 171.

than that in which their namesakes are usually found. Ralph Turb, whose wife committed suicide in 1268 (p. 176) may have been a connection of William Turb, the third Bishop of Norwich, elected to that see in 1146, who is said to have been a Norman by birth, and brought over by Bishop Herbert de Lozinga; while Roger le Waleys, the foreign malefactor of 52 and 53 Henry III., may have been of kin to the great William Wallace.

To my mind the constant occurrence six hundred years ago in small villages of names still common among the cottagers in the same or adjacent places, is most interesting, as showing the tenacity with which peasant families cling to one locality. A few instances will suffice, *e.g.*, Pye, Pigg (Pyge), Moody (Modi), Le Neve, Cole, Loose (de Lose), Ellis (Elys), Breeze (Brese), Callow (le Kalewe), Partridge (Partrych), and Love. Many of these still occur in the actual village in which their namesake, and no doubt ancestor, lived six centuries ago, *e.g.*, at North Repps Nicholas le Kalewe of that place took sanctuary in 14 Edward I., and while copying the inscriptions in the churchyard there the other day, I found several tombstones to the family of Callow, both of the present and past generations.

Crown Plea Roll, Norfolk, 34 Henry III.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, M. 4 1

1

Mem. 16 d, North Erpingham Hundred.

Roger Ayline⁵ was found smothered in a marl pit. He was buried without sight of the coroner. The adjoining villages are therefore fined.⁶

⁵ Tyline in No. 3, and Ailine in No. 5. Probably our present Allen.

⁶ The finings of adjoining villages for burying without calling in the coroner, and for not attending the inquest when he was called, are so very frequent that I do not propose to notice them.

William, son of Walter de Bromholm, a boy aged one year and a half, was found drowned in a ditch in Beston. His mother Inghereta did not come to the inquest, therefore she is fined. She is attached by William le Franceys and William Brun of Beston. Robert Ode, Nicholas Golding, William Brabazun (Brabecun No. 5), and William le Messer, four of the neighbours (the four nearest neighbours is probably meant here) did not come, for which they were attached by Adam de la Bruere, John Golding, Roger the son of Cole, and Roger Golding. Athelmerton (Aylmerton) and other villages were fined for burying the boy without sight of the coroner.

Elviva de⁷ Gimingham was found drowned in a pit. Buried without sight of coroner. Adjoining villages fined.

Matilda, daughter of William Scati (Stalii in No. 5), was found drowned in Suthfeld. Buried without, &c. Adjoining villages, &c.

Giles Balle found dead in Basingham. Buried, &c.

Matilda, daughter of Roger la Weyte, found drowned in Suthsted; and William Bond falsely presented that she was an English woman,⁸ for which he is fined. Afterwards he makes (or agrees) a fine of half-a-mark (secured) by the pledges of Richard Brithrik (Britrich, No. 5), and Richard Wymer.

Hugh, son of Robert de Hilington appeals (*i.e.*, charges) Roger son of Constance that he being in the house of John de Merlay in Shyringham, at nine o'clock on the Monday after the feast of St. Margaret, in the year 33 (Henry III.), the said Roger came and struck him on the

⁷ Here, and no doubt in most cases in the series, the 'de' simply means of, in the sense of Elviva a woman residing at Gimmingham, and not that she had a surname "de Gimmingham."

⁸ This was to avoid the fine on the hundred for the murder of a Dane. "It was necessary, on each inquest, to prove that the murdered person was English, that the town might be exempted from the amercement, which proof was called Engleary."—Tomlin.

head with a hatchet, viz., towards the left side, and made there a wound three thumb breadths long and two wide. This he offers to prove by his body. Roger denies the accusation, which he will defend by his body. Therefore let there be a duel between them. Roger's sureties are Richard Lambert (Lambe in Nos. 2 and 3) of Shyringham, Richard Estrild (Estruld), Roger le Neve, William Holdghate (Holdegate), and Richard Kendrik. Hugh's sureties are William de Felmingham,⁹ Hugh, son of Robert, William Hacun (Hakun), and Albinus de Stanford. A day is given them, viz., the last of St. Luke the Evangelist, they are to come armed. On the day Roger comes, but not Hugh; therefore let him be taken into custody, and his sureties fined. And the jury say they are agreed (of his guilt); therefore let Roger be committed to gaol, &c. Afterwards Roger comes and makes a fine of half-a-mark (secured) by the pledge (or surety) of William de Felmingham (Fremelingham in No. 5.)

John, son of Isabel, appeals William, servant of John de Merlay, (Morlee in one roll), of wounding and maiming him, and breach of the peace, &c. And the deforciant appeals (? makes a counter charge against) Richard Gupyll, Richard le Moyne, and John le Moyne. John le Moyne comes, but the others do not. William is attached by Thomas Crask and Robert Digun; Richard by Robert Lesly and Adam Aye; and Richard le Moyne by Nicholas de Pallinge and Nicholas le Croysser of Beston.

Richard ad Ecclesiam (de Suthstede in Nos. 1 and 5), appeals Bartholomew, Chaplain of Betele, for wounding him, and breaking the king's peace, &c. He also appeals William Bond, Richard Fitting of Tutington, William Gosefot,¹ and others. Bartholomew claims benefit of clergy, and is handed over to the official.

⁹ Omitted in Nos. 2 and 3.

¹ Goosefoot.

Geoffrey Grusing (Grosing, No. 3) appeals Roger Moht (Mokt in No. 2, Mok in No. 3, and Mokh in No. 5) of Boyton, for breaking his shoulder and the king's peace,² &c. Geoffrey does not appear. Therefore let him be taken and his sureties distrained, viz., Hugh, son of Robert de Basingham, and Roger, son of Ralph de Thurgerton. Roger comes, and the jury say they are agreed (of his guilt); therefore let him be sent to gaol, &c. Afterwards Roger de Boyton comes and makes a fine of half-a-mark with Adam de Birlingham.

William, son of Nicholas of Thorp Belet, appeals Richard son of Ralph Lebrand for wounding him and breach of the king's peace. William does not appear, so his pledges to prosecute, viz., William de Freburs and Goscelin de Lose in Thorp are fined. Richard comes, and the jury say they are agreed (of his guilt); therefore let Richard be sent to gaol.

The goods of Ralph de Riburg, who was hung, are worth 7s.

Mem. 17.

Robert, the son of Richard de Metton (Meuton) is accused of burning the house of Simon his brother.

And John the son of Joseph of Plumstead and Nicholas his brother, Nicholas de Braham and Alice his wife, Thomas, son of Ralph de Braham, Nicholas de Braham, Adam Toward, Thomas Donewold, Alice Coleman and Nicholas Pole are accused of theft.

Robert de Metton claims benefit of clergy. The jurors find John, son of Joseph, and his brother Nicholas guilty of many robberies, but the others not guilty. John's goods are worth 6s. 1d., and his land 6d.

Of those indicted, the jury say that Henry Cole of

² A beautifully parenthetical sentence.

Suthstede, (Agnes, the wife of Thomas Dunewald³) Nicholas Coter, Walter Rey³side⁴ (Reyside), Ralph de Molendino of Belhus, Hugh le Brun, Clement son of Robert de Thurgarton, William Hickel, Eborard, son of Geoffrey Sutor, Margeria Runting, and Ralph, son of Robert Pole, have withdrawn themselves, and are suspected. Henry Cole's goods are worth 20*d.*, and he was in the tithing of Thomas Doneward of Suthsted; Ralph de Molendino has no goods, and was in the tithing of Alan Sūuig of Haueneworth; Hugh Brown has no goods, and was in the tithing of Thomas de Whyteby in Thurgarton; Clement, son of Robert, has no goods, and was in the tithing of Elfer Nepe⁵ of Thurgarton; William Hickel's goods are worth 18*d.*, and he was in the tithing of John Copping of Aldeburg; Eborard has no goods, and was in the tithing of Geoffrey Mayn in Edghinethorp (Edingthorpe); Ralph Pole's goods are worth 3*d.*, and he was in the tithing of Robert Nekes of Tuneberningham, and was harboured (receptatus) in the town of Thorp Belet,⁶ for which such town is fined; and Walter Reysereside⁴ has no goods, and was harboured in the town of N. Repps, outside (his ?) tithing,⁷ for which such town is fined.

Presentment (by the hundred ?)

That William, son of Isaac de Felmingham, holds lands worth 40*s.* a year in Bekham of the king, but they do not know by what warrant; therefore let it be inquired into.

Of defaults, they say that Richard de Grey, Philip Basset (Bissit in No. 3), Gilbert de Toft, Nicholas le Fleming, and Ralph de Binham (Sparham in No. 2,

³ Bunewald in another roll.

⁴ Qy. Razor side.

⁵ Qy. Nepote or Le Neve.

⁶ I presume this is Thorp Market, but cannot find that place was ever so called. The Belets were of Geyton and elsewhere.

⁷ Every man was bound to belong to some tithing.

Braham in Nos. 3 and 5) did not attend before the justices; therefore they are fined.

That Simon (so in Nos. 1 and 5, Nicholas in Nos. 2 and 3) Pudding, of Walesham, (Walsingham in Nos. 2 and 3) changes money without warrant; therefore he is fined.

"De Valettis," (young gentlemen of quality). They say that Richard de Playz holds a knight's fee, and is of full age, but is not yet a knight; therefore he is fined.

They present that the hundred is worth £8 yearly.

Of wreck of the sea, they say that a certain barrel worth 4*d.* came ashore at Shipedon (Sypeden No. 5), for which the sheriff will answer (*i.e.*, account). And that William Tirel (the bailiff) took such barrel without warrant; therefore he is fined.

To the duplicate roll numbered 3 is added the Schedule of Fines annexed.

To that numbered 5 is prefixed the names of the coroners since the last Iter, and the names of the bailiffs and jurors for each hundred.

The bailiff for N. Erpingham was William Tyrel; and the jurors Roger de Berningham, Hugh de Antingham, Richard de Reymis, William de Hereworth, (Hanworth?) Roger Bacun, John de Curcun, Hervey de Shypedon, John Red, Robert Curcun, Roger de Antingham, Clement de Westwood, and Eustace de Turgarton.

Schedule to Roll. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 4 \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 3$ showing the fines received.

Hundr⁹ de Northerpingham

D. Eodem hundr ⁹ p murdr ⁹ except lib	. . .	ij ^m .
villata de Plumstede q, sep mortuū sñ visu cor ⁸	. . .	j ^m .
villata de Tuneberningham p eodē	. . .	j ^m .

⁸ Burying some one who met a violent death without sight of the coroner, *i.e.*, without holding an inquest.

D. villata de Aldeburgh p eodem	. . .	xx ^a .
villata de Bacunestorp p eodē	. . .	ij ^m .
Willō le F ⁿ ceis, Witto Brun de Beston q nō		
hūer ingerodi q pī	. . .	di m̄.
Rob Ode Nicho Goldyng q nō veñ	. . .	di m̄.
Witō Brabacun ⁊ Witto le Messer p eodē	. . .	di m̄.
Villata de Rūton q sep̄ ⁊c	. . .	xl ^a .
Villata de Athelmiton p eodē	. . .	I m̄.
Villata de Estbech ^a m p eodē	. . .	I m̄.
Villata de Gimingham p eodē	. . .	xx sol.
Villata de Trimingham p eodē	. . .	j m̄.
Villata de Trunch p eod̄	. . .	ij m̄.
Villata de Sudreppes p eod̄	. . .	xl sol.
Villata de Sudfeld p eodē	. . .	j m̄.
Villata de Guneton p eod̄	. . .	ij m̄.
Villata de Antingh ^a m p eodē	. . .	xl ^a .
Villata de Bausingha ^a m p eodē	. . .	I m̄.
Villata de Matelaske p eodē	. . .	I m̄.
Villata de G ^o sham p eodē	. . .	ij m̄.
Witto Bonde de fīn p t ^a nsgr ^o	. . .	di m̄.
Villa de Sudsted q sep̄ ⁊c	. . .	ij m̄.
Villa de Turgerton p eod̄	. . .	di m̄.
Rog ^o fil' Custanč defīn p t ^a nsgr ^o	. . .	di m̄.
Huğ fil' Robi de Basingh ^a m ⁊ Rog ^o fil' Radi q		
nō huerūt Galfr ^o Grusing q pī	. . .	di m̄.
Rog ^o de Bocton (?) de fīn p t ^a nsgr ^o	. . .	di m̄.
Witto Freburs ⁊ Goscelino de Lose in Torpe q		
n̄ huef q plī	. . .	di m̄.
R. vič de cař fī Josep̄ fuğ	. . .	vj ^a . j ^d .
D. eod̄ vič de Anñ ⁊ vast ^o t ^o re ejod̄.	. . .	vj ^d .
D. eod̄ vič de cař Rađ de Riburğ spig	. . .	vij ^a .
D. eod̄ vič de cař Heñr ^o Cole fuğ	. . .	xx ^d .
D. dec ^a Thoñ Dunewald in Suthsted p fuğ ejod̄	. . .	di mr ^o .
De dec ^a Alañ Mannig in Hanewrth p fuğ Rađ		
Molend	. . .	di mr ^o .

[Dorse.]

D. dec ^a Thom̄ de Wyteby in Thurgerton p fuḡ	
Huḡ Brun	di mř.
D. dec ^a Elfredi Nepe da Thurg ^ŋ ton p fuḡ Cle ^m f	
Rob ⁱ	di mř.
D. R. vič de cař Witti Hikel p fuḡ	di mř.
D. dec ^a Joh Copping de Aldeburg p fuḡ eigđ	di mř.
D. dec ^a Galfr ^o Mayn in Edinestorp p fuḡ Eborard	
Titun	di mř.
D. R. vič de cař Rađ Pole fuḡ	iiij ^d .
D. dec ^a Rob ⁱ Nekes de Tunebinghā p fuḡ eigđ	di mř.
D. R. vic de cař Nichi Cuter fuḡ	xx ^d .
D. villata de Northreppes p recep Wal ^{ti} Reiseside	
ex ^a decn ^a	v mř.
D. Nichō le Fleming de Schypeden deffoř (?)	di mř.
D. Sim̄ Pudding de Walsham p t ^a nsgr ^ŋ	di mř.
D. Ričo de Playz q, nō dum miles	xl sol.
D. Robs de Curchun t̄ soč suis juř ex ^{cia} Cle ^m t	
de Westwđ t̄ Rog ^ŋ Bacon	di m.
D. Simon de Mouton p dess	v mř.

Crown Plea Roll, Norfolk, 41 Henry III.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE M 4 2

2

Mem. 26.

A stranger was found slain in the fields of Hankeworth,⁹ &c. It is not known who slew him.

William, son of Claricia, having the falling sickness,¹ tumbled into the water at Suthfeud.

⁹ Probably the strange scribe's error for Han^keworth.

¹ Epilepsy.

The villages of Suthfeud, Antingham, and Markesthorp² not coming to the inquest are fined.

Henry Kaya was smothered in a certain marl pit in a field at Northrepps.

Alice, daughter of Adam, fell into a certain well in Gimingham, &c., and Peter Leivine (or possibly Lewine) one of the neighbours, did not come, &c., and was attached by Geoffrey Boye, Richard Suby, Richard Pawel, and Wymer Wipping.

Letitia, wife of John le Paumer, was run over by a cart in the village of Rugheton, &c.

Matthew, son of Roger de Norton, a boy one year old, was crushed by the fall of a certain wall in the house of Matilda Modi, in Sygedon.

Martina, who was the wife of John Estañ, appealed before the county John, son of Roger de Uphall, concerning the death of her son Hermann. It was found that John, after being outlawed, was taken at Wolterton, and there being caught while flying was beheaded.³ The same appealed Thomas de Cursun of Audeburg for cruelty, and for the burning of her house, and said that on the Thursday next before the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the thirty-eighth year, the aforesaid Thomas came wickedly and feloniously, and against the peace, &c., and with premeditated assault, &c., and set fire to her house aforesaid in Audeburg, &c. Verdict, not guilty. Martina to gaol for false appeal. Afterwards Thomas makes a fine for himself, and his pledge of one mark by the pledge of Robert de Cursun.

William, son of Walter de Bayfeud, was struck by the sail of a certain windmill . . . (blank in roll.)

² This is the only instance I have seen of the name of this village, which was probably one of those on the coast washed away by the incursion of the sea.

³ "Et ibidem fugiendo decollatus." At m. 30 is an account of how John de Vacher, an outlaw, was beheaded by the bailiff of the Prior of Wyndham.

Alice, who was the wife of Nicholas Hay, appealed before the county William Hotte of Dunton and Thomas his son concerning the death of the aforesaid Nicholas. Thomas has no goods, and was in the tithing of Thomas Arnand of Rungeton.

Margaret, wife of Joseph Thurkild, hung herself in a certain halter in the house of the same Joseph in the village of Plumsted.

Peter de Hakeford appealed Roger, son of Roger de Wykmere, for assault whilst he was at Matlaske, on the land of Walter de Mauteby, on the Sunday before St. John Baptist, about mid-day, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign.

Gilbert, son of William de Shypedene, was found drowned in a ditch at Thorp Market. Adam, son of Hervey, and William, son of Richard Attewo, two neighbours, did not come, and were attached by Reginald Attehyll, William, son of Julian, Reginald Iluenger, and William, son of Robert de Rughton.

An unknown man was found dead of his wounds in Beston. Eudo, son of John, William de Flitcham, Gilbert Caundos,⁴ and Richard Leyne, four of the neighbours, were attached by Thomas, son of William, Alexander, son of Tymme, Simon Attebek, and Reginald Bice.

Eadmund, son of Nicholas, a boy aged seven, found drowned in a ditch at Aylmerton. William Oldman, a neighbour, did not come, therefore attached by Alward the Fleming, Richard Longys, William son of Robert, and Hugh Osbern of Aylmerton.

Roger, son of William de Thorp Market, appealed Robert the Carpenter of Thorp Market of mayhem, but does not appear, so his pledges to prosecute, viz., Prenge (*sic*, no surname) and William de Fonte of Thorp Market, are fined.

⁴ Chandos ?

Agnes, daughter of William, found drowned at Thurgarton. Roger son of Robert attached by William Pope and William Awod of Thurgarton, &c.

Mem. 27.

William, son of Roger, was found drowned in Great Byrningham.

Walter, son of Thomas, and Clarissa his sister, burned in the house of Ellen Pyeman in Gimmingham.

The jurors present that William de Valenc drew to himself (appropriated) the rent of 4s. 2d., the rent of our lord the king, in the village of Matelaske and Plumstede, and withdrew the service (?) of the said hundred which the village of Berningham was accustomed to perform, and two services and a half which the village of Matelaske was accustomed to perform, and the sixth part of one service which the village of Plumstede used to perform, and a certain court lete which the aforesaid village used to hold, to that hundred; and those services were withdrawn for now three years past. Therefore let the point be tried.⁵

Richard Puning (?) of Cnapeton fled and was accounted guilty of many thefts. He was in the tithing of William de Bosco of Knapeton.

Presentment that William de Brom and James de Crek hold a knight's fee and are of full age, and have not as yet been made knights.

Presentment that R. le Bygot, Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Warren, John de Grey, Philip Basset, Richard de Grey, Peter Braunch, Agnes de Ruidon (?), Matilda de Felbrigg, Adam de Fenhowe (infirm), Alan (son of?) Roger de Gimingham, Radolphus de Lose (infirm), Robert "fil. Prepocei" (infirm), Nicholas Kempyn, William Jordan (infirm), Roger de Cobenill (blind), John le Teler, Stephen

⁵ "Ideo inde loquendum."

de Belhus (blind), Robert Mody,⁶ Agnes Gose, Roger Goldhing, Clement, son of the parson of Guneton, and John, parson of Southrepps, did not come on the first day.⁷ Therefore, &c.

Croton Plea Roll, Norfolk, 52 and 53 Henry III.

M 4 2
3

Mem. 21 (new pencil numbers), or mem. 20 (old ink numbers.)

Roger le Waleys, a certain foreign malefactor, killed Peter de Scropham, in Beston, and went to sanctuary in church of Aylmerton and abjured the kingdom. He had no goods nor was he in any tithing, but he was one of the retinue of Robert de Roulesby, therefore the latter is fined.

Walter Helisent of Trunch took sanctuary in the church of Trunch, acknowledged himself to be a thief and abjured the country. He was in the tithing of Alexander de Fonte in Trunch, who therefore is fined.

The towns of Thorp Marcht, Rugton, Guneton, and Antingham, did not come to the inquisition held on death of John, son of William Kyton,⁸ therefore they are fined.

Michael Cressy of Felebrigge was found drowned in a pond in the parish of Metton. No crime is alleged.

William le Lu of Schypeden was found killed in Schypeden. William Pyge⁹ of Felbrigg, Lawrence Trenchemer, Nicholas Rote, Richard de Tykewell in Rughton, and Adam Planchun of Torp, being accused of his death, fled, and were afterwards all hung except Laurence Trenchemer and Adam Planchun. They had no goods

⁶ P'alticus.

⁷ *I.e.*, did not attend the hundred court, and were therefore fined.

⁸ Here is an ancestor ready made for the Ketton, born Kitton, now of Felbrigg Hall.

⁹ Pigg is still a name to be found in this hundred.

and were not in any tithing, but Laurence was received¹ in the village of Overstrande, which was therefore fined.

Certain unknown malefactors were entertained in the house of Elunce, (?) daughter of Richard de Schrapton, and killed her.

The jury present that Ralph Schyppe of Herlassinton (?) was taken for suspicion of theft and imprisoned in the "aula"² of Haneworth in the custody of Robert de Lund, serjeant of that manor, but escaped, for which Robert is fined. Afterwards Ralph took sanctuary at Thurverton (*sic*) and abjured the country. The village of Thurverton³ is fined because it did not take him.

Agnes Dayhe of Knapeton hung herself in Knapton. Her goods were worth 4s. 4d., which were to be answered for by the sheriff.

William Nek of Aleby was run over by a cart in the briars⁴ of Bekkam. The value of the cart and horse was two marks, for which the sheriff was to answer. The sheriff pays such two marks, which are given to the clerks by the justices for purgation⁵ and received through the hands of R. de Egefeld.

An unknown man was found killed in the king's highway near the briars of East Bekam. It is not known who killed him. Judgment of murder against the hundred.

As to encroachments.

Paulinus Peyure appropriated to his court lete of Torp Market the fourth part of the town of Rughton from the

¹ Villages had no business to allow any stranger to remain in them beyond a short time.

² The house or hall at which all manorial meetings took place.

³ No doubt a scribe's error for Thurgarton.

⁴ "In bruera." The fact of a tract of country being so overgrown by briars as to give the district a name is curious.

⁵ "Ad pergamantum."

king's lete, and also the fourth part of the suit (and service) of the town, and William Peyure now holds the same, but they (the jurors) do not know by what warrant. Therefore let the point be tried at law.

The corn measures in the towns of Haneworth, Gytingham, and Beston are larger than other measures. Therefore let, &c.

Of defaulters they say—

That Roger de Sanford, Nicholas Knebeyn of Northrepps, Theobald, Chaplain of Schyppeden, William Brun of the same place, Roger his son, John, son of the provost ⁶ (warden ?) of Rugtone, did not come.

Richard, son of William de Basingham, was drowned in Great Barningham; the jurors did not present who first found him, and were therefore fined.

Roger Suneman was found drowned in a well at Trunch. Verdict, mischance.

Agnes, wife of Ralph Turb, hung herself in her husband's barn. Verdict, *felo de se*.

Warin the son of Basil, Roger Codlyng, and Robert Reynald were attached for her death; neither came nor were suspected, (but Warinus was attached by Robert Forester of Southrepps, and Warin provost of the same);⁷ and Roger by Ralph Carte of Surepp, and Warinus provost of the same place; and Robert by Reginald, son of Walter of Southrepps, and Jerome Buck of the same place. Therefore they are all fined. Afterwards Warin comes. Therefore nothing is payable by him or his pledges.

Geoffrey de Dullam, and Bartholomew, son of Thomas de Westwyk, quarrelled, and Geoffrey killed Bartholomew

⁶ Propositus.

⁷ The words within brackets have been struck out in the original.

and fled. Therefore let him be "exigented"⁸ and (then) outlawed. He had no goods, nor was he in any tithing, but as he was harboured by the village of Antingham, though not in any tithing, that village is fined.

Roger Pentyng of Aldeburg hung himself in his house at Aldeburg. *Felo de se*. Goods valued at 3s.

Bolby, the groom of Jolanus⁹ de Vallibus, wounded Elyas Lully of Keteshall¹ in Guneton, so that he died. Bolby fled; therefore let him be "exigented" and (then) outlawed. No goods, but he was in the service of Jolan de Vallibus, who is therefore fined.

Richard le (*sic*) Grey attached for being present (at the last occurrence) and not coming (to the inquest.) Attached by John Oldhereng of Guneton and Robert Thurst² of the same place.

Warin Makepays of Haneworth, and Philip Pye took a certain unknown groom, namely³ Henry Pupp, and bound him and so tightly fastened him that he thereupon died. They fled, and are therefore to be "exigented" and outlawed. No goods. Warren was in the tithing of William Makepays in Aneworth, and Philip in no tithing, but in the service of Robert de London, who is therefore fined.

William Goncy (?) of Bradefeud was found killed in the fields at Aylmerton, having his neck twisted.

William de Scubēton was found dead in the court (yard?) of Mabel, widow of Bartholomew de Kyrkegate in the village of Southrepps. Hamo Wylyot was presented because he was in the said court and did not come to

⁸ "Ex^a et utlagatus." The writ is called "exigent" because it "exacts" the party, i.e., requires his attendance to answer the law, and if he does not come after five proclamations, he is outlawed.—Crompton, *Juris.*, 188.

⁹ I read this word so, and not John.

¹ This locality has not yet been noted.

² Old herring and thirst are not improbable acquaintances.

³ This reads nonsense..

the inquest. Attached by Adam Saleman and Ralph de Southrepps. Verdict, natural death.

Presented that William de Valenċ appropriated to his lete the suit (and service) of Walter de Mauteby in Matelask from the king's lete of Gunegate, with three suits, &c., and the half and the one-sixth part of another, and 6s. 2d. rent. The jurors do not know by what warrant. Therefore let the point be tried at law.

That all, as well freemen as bondsmen of Mettone, ought to be present in the lete of the king, and they know not by what authority they withdrew. Therefore, &c. And James de Crek appropriated to his own lete some of the bondsmen of the aforesaid town of Metton. Therefore, &c.

21 dorse.

That Robert de Crakeford, the bailiff of Walter, formerly Bishop of Norwich, appropriated from the lete of the king, while the manor of Haneworth was in the hands of the same bishop in farm, all the brewers of Metton, who were wont to answer any transgressions in the lete of the king, and they do not know by what authority. And upon this comes the bailiff of the Earl Marshal (who now holds the said manor) and says that the said earl and his ancestors, Earls Warenne, and all the earls who held the same manor before the aforesaid bishop, had it with the right to take amends for transgression of beer (brewing) and also the same on all the villages at his lete, as belonging of right to the aforesaid manor. Therefore let the point, &c.

That Martin Wens of Melwode and James Grom of Sudwode took Robert de Causton, bedell, and beat him, and took his horse from him, and retained it for ten weeks. Therefore the sheriff is ordered to compel them to come, &c.

That this hundred is worth £8 per annum.

That Peter de Sabaud appropriated to himself 3d. rent, which is called "letese," in the village of Matelask, which

the king was accustomed to take of Nicholas de Bruera, also half the rent (service) which the said Nicholas was used to make to the king, and they do not know by what warrant. Therefore, &c.

Thomas de Gelham and Roger Forester of Holt are accused of robbing the house of William Brynig in Rughtone, and the house of Thomas Barnig, and the house of William de Ecclesia of Audeburg, and the house of Thomas, collector in Audeburg. Do not appear. Found guilty. Therefore are to be "exigented" and outlawed. No goods in the tithing. Roger was in the service of John de Vallibus⁴ in his establishment at Holt. And the said Thomas on some occasions returned to the house of Mathew de Gelham his father while the latter was before the justices at Norwich, and was ignorant of it.

That John, bailiff of Gymingham, took from Bartholomew de Repps two marks, because the said Bartholomew came by summons of the king before the king's bailiff.⁵ John cannot deny this, and so must answer for the said marks.

Also that he took of Edmund de Repps, by threats and unjust distrains, fifteen marks, &c. Edmund also complains that he and Avicia his wife sold the marriage of Bartholomew son of Roger de Coleville to a certain Adam de Musters for ten marks, and the said John distrained Edmund by all his goods until he forgave the said Adam the said ten marks. John denies this. Richard, bailiff of Thunstede, complains of said John, that whilst he was holding a view of frankpledge at Paston, on Wednesday next to the Feast of the Nativity of St. John this year, John de Melwode came and took his horse worth a mark, and harness worth 5s., and detained them.

⁴ He is probably the gentleman another of whose servants is mentioned before.

⁵ "Eo quod predictus Bartholomeus venit per sumonicōem dn'i Reg' coram Ballō dn'i Reg'."

William Peyure complains of the said John that he distrained in his towns of Thorpe Market and Rughton; and in the year 51 took fifty-two cows and one hundred and sixty sheep, and drove them to Gymingham, and detained them fifteen days till he paid eight marks. By such incarceration twenty-five sheep and three cows died. Damage twenty marks. This he cannot deny, therefore it is adjudged he be taken into custody.⁶

That a certain Constance, concubine of John the priest (sacerdotis) of Gymingham, bore a child in the house of the rector of the church of Gymingham, and that the said John⁷ broke into the house at night by his men, and took the woman and her bed to the "Hall" of Gymingham, and there imprisoned her till the said priest paid a fine of 40*s.* to deliver her; and he also took of the said "chaplain" a certain rent for two years. This he cannot deny.

William le Wayte of Guneton complains of him that he imprisoned him at Guneton for three days in the stocks and in irons, alleging that he had burned a certain house in Guneton, and extorted from him to the value of £8. 16*s.* and detained his goods. This he cannot deny.

Afterwards the said John comes and offers £100 to the king for the remission of the suit, and also that satisfaction may be made to each of those complaining of him, &c.⁸ Therefore it is secured by the pledges of William le Parker, William de Fleg, Robert de Reppes, William de Felmingham, Thomas de Begevell, Andrew de Brampton, Roger de Felebrig, John de Saham, Elias de Causton, Hugh de Aleby, Roger le Marchante, and Robert Felaghe.

Mem. 21 d.

Afterwards come Roger de Leveshale and Robert Ernald, and claim their benefit of clergy. The jurors find them not

⁶ Ideo consi'd q'd custodiatur.

⁷ The bailiff.

⁸ Ita cū qd sat' faceat' cuilibet de eo cōqueret'i et recipiuntur p' pl, &c.

guilty. Of those indicted, the jurors say that Thomas Stricce⁹(P) of Torpmarche, Roger de Leveshale, [Andrew his brother¹] Robert Ernald of Suffeld, Nicholas Forestarius of Heingham, Robert Londe (or Loude) of Suffeld, Richard his brother, Robert Butte (or Bucces) of Felmingham, Wlviva Pymūg of Knapeton, and Laurence Trenchemer fled on account of being suspected of theft. Therefore they are to be "exigented" and outlawed. They have no goods. Thomas was in the tithing of Henry son of Adam de Torp-march, and Robert in that of Reginald Grimme of Suffeld. The others were not in any tithing in this hundred.

Inquiries are directed in the hundred of S. Erpingham as to the goods and tithings of Roger de Leveshal and Andrew his brother, and Nicholas Forester of Hevingham, and in the hundred of Tunsted, as to Robert Butte.

Afterwards Andrew de Leveshale claims benefit of clergy. The jurors convict him of a robbery done in the time of the war, so he is delivered to the bishop.

Nicholas le Forester of Marsham, William le Moyne, Ralph Pylhor, and William Irlonde, accused of robbery at Aylsham, come and put themselves on the country. The jury of this hundred with that of S. Erpingham find them not guilty, and that the accusation was made against them at the instigation of Robert Rug, Nicholas Bureward, and Stephen de Crosdale, therefore let these latter be taken into custody. Afterwards comes the said Nicholas and agrees to pay the fine of a mark, to be secured by Roger de Lyngtveyt and Robert le Forester. The jurors also find that the accusation was made against the said Nicholas le Forester out of hatred &c., at the instigation of Robert de Pec^a, of Aylsham. Therefore let him be taken into custody. The fine² is pardoned (excused) by the justices.

⁹ Or Scritte.

¹ Struck out.

² Probably the fine of one mark Nicholas le Forester made to be discharged from custody.

Crown Plea Roll, Norfolk, 14 Edward I.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, M. 4 2

6

Mem. 51. North Erpingham Hundred.

Roger at Mill of Twheyt hung himself in his house at Audebergh.

Adam Gro of Aylmerton fell from a plough and died.

William Strem of Bradefeud was found killed in Aylmerton. The villages of Aylmerton and Colebrug³ were fined. The jurors find that William Cole of Bradefeud and Reginald Noteman killed him and fled. The latter was in the tithing of Richard Nottyng of Thorpmarket.

John de Wytton and Gilbert . . . oldyng of Runton were slain in the night-time.

Robert Rugman of Tunberningham hung himself.

William le Warrener of Gymynggham and Ralph, son of Nicholas de Applewerd,⁴ fought in S. Repps, and Ralph killed William and fled.

Alice, daughter of William Pechun of Gunton, hung herself.

Richard de Gresham, miller, and Simon de Askeby killed Richard de Swathefeud near Knapeton mill and fled.

Mabel Cullyng hung herself at Swaffeud, and Estilda, the daughter of Nicholas Faber of Swathefeud, cut her throat with a razor in the house of Hervey Beket in Knapton.

Agnes, widow of Roger, son of Ralph de Gunton, appealed John de Methelwold and Margaret his wife of a robbery and breach of the peace; but, as she did not appear, her pledges to prosecute, viz., Thomas, son of Roger de Gunton, and Henry, son of Roger of the same place, were fined.

³ Coleby?

⁴ I think this is the earliest occurrence of the subsequently well-known Norfolk surname of Appleyard.

Walter Colle of Suthfeud hung himself in the ox-house of Reginald de Antingham.

Unknown malefactors slew Agatha Gumpe by night at Matlaske and fled. Adam Odyn of Beston, a neighbour, is fined for non-attendance, and is attached by Richard, son of William, and John Alisaundre of Beston.

A man and a woman, whose names are unknown, lodged at the house of Ralph, son of Margaret, at Ructon, and killed him in the night-time. A hue and cry being raised they were caught, and being prosecuted by Helewisa, the widow of Ralph, in the King's Court of Aylsham, were hung.

William Ide and John Merle killed Hervey de Prato in the night-time in Knapton and fled.

Edward Coleman of Walsham⁵ and Thomas Buntyng of Thurgarton killed Roger Clericus of Thurgarton and fled. Thomas was in the tithing of William le Panner of Thurgarton, and Edward in that of Nicholas Coleman of Walsham.

Mem. 51 d.

Matilda, the wife of Walter le Shypman, was found slain in her husband's house at Monesele.

William Aunger and Agnes atte Lode, both of Tunbernyngham, in the night-time killed Richard Atte Lode of Basingham and hid the body in a marl pit and fled. William was in the tithing of Ralph de Tunberningham.

Adam Chyldefader of Gymyngham was found drowned.

Alice Grom, of S. Repps being prosecuted by Clement del Hyl for theft went into sanctuary.

Bartholomew de Gutherston, chaplain, fell from a stair of an upper room and was killed.

Adam Huberd of Salthouse, Philip and Gervase his sons, Martin the miller of Cley, Richard, son of John Reynard of

⁵ *North* Walsham which was not so called till much later.

Haneworth, and Nicholas de Kygestrayt of Gresham being together in W. Lechsam, the last-named was killed.

Roger Styngyn of N. Repps was found dead. Walter de Chervele, Richard de Couteshal, and John Osbern were attached for his death, but did not appear. Walter was attached by Clement Griske and Walter Notyng of the same place (*sic*), Richard by Robert Ladelman and Bartholomew Cariwen, and John by Nicholas Modyman and Richer fil' Othe. The jurors find he died a natural death.

Peter Dowe of Thurgarton, who is dead, Matilda Dowe of the same place, and Henry Lyun of Coleby killed at night one Cecilia Pryggun and another Cecilia, her companion. Henry was in the tithing of Ralph Cullyng in Aleby.

Richard le Lung of Aylmerton and Benedict le Heyward of Runham being fighting in Aylmerton, and Levina, Richard's wife, intervening, she got knocked on the head by a hatchet and killed. Benedict fled. He was in the tithing of John de Lyde in Runham.

Robert de Thornton, having been captured for theft in Antingham and imprisoned in Thorp Market, escaped into sanctuary in the church of St. Mary⁶ in the latter place.

William, son of Agnes Atte Hill, fought and killed an unknown man in Schypeden. He is in the tithing of William Batayle of Schypden.

The town of Gunton pays for the goods of William Brun, who was hung, 3s. 10d.

The town of Gymyngnam pays for the goods of Hugh Spwe, (Sparrow?) who was hung, 3s. 8d.

An unknown man, who was lodging in the house of Eudo Stalk in Monesle, stole, in the night-time, two sheep belonging to Matilda Goye of Edesore⁷ in the same place. He was imprisoned, but escaped.

Roger de Cayly and Robert the groom (*valettus*) of

⁶ Blomefield says the church is dedicated to St. Margaret.

⁷ I cannot trace this spot.

Henry de Brom, being prosecuted at the suit of the bailiffs of this hundred, took sanctuary in the church of North Repps, and admitted themselves to be thieves.

John de Lyng was found killed in Schypeden. Richard Becke, *alias* de Dunwico, accused of the crime, was sent to Norwich, tried, and hung for it.

John, son of Roger the weaver, was drowned in Ructon. John Elys, one of the neighbours, did not come to the inquest, and was therefore attached by Robert Berdles of Roncton and John Godfrey.

The town of Thurgarton pays for the goods of Thomas de Ructon, who was hung, 5*s*.

The town of Runcton, for the goods of Thomas de Horsey (hung) 19*s*.

The town of Beston, for the goods of Godwyn Sherewyng (hung) 10*s*.

The town of Suthfeud, for the goods of Roger de Halvergate (hung) 3*d*.

The town of Haneworth, for the goods of Robert de Mershlond (hung) 6*s*. 1*d*.

The town of Gymyngham, for the goods of Clement Kilbyng (hung) 9*s*. 2*d*.

The town of Gymyngham, for the goods of Clement Truket (hung) 6*s*. 8*d*.

Presentments that Martin Pulte of Thorp, John de Blunvill, Alexander de Suthrepps, Ralph de Bosch, John Wykemere, Bartholomew de Appelyerd, William fil' Warin of Reppes, Adam de Hormade, Gilbert de Debenham, and William le Wariner sell by measures against the assize.

Mem. 73 d.

The names of the jurors for North Erpingham are given here, viz., Bartholomew de Antyngeham, Bartholomew de Castre, John de Bernyngham, Ralph de Curscun, Hugh de

Reymes, William de Bradeham, Robert de Ixnyng, Robert Hereward, Robert de Mauteby, Roger Bygot de Felebregg ("infirm") Reginald de Antingham, and Edmund de Reples (*sic*).

Mem. 52.

Cecilia Hestyng arrested by Geoffrey Wodecok, catchpoll, (?) (cacherehellus, *see* Duchesne) for burglary in the house of Clement, the son of the parson of Gunton, is given into the charge of the village of Trunch. While being taken to Norwich gaol she escapes, and is afterwards retaken, but found not guilty.

John le Eskyrmishur, late bailiff of this hundred, took of Roger de Antingham 40*d.* of the king's debt, and did not account for it. Geoffrey Wodecok, took 5*s.* of the homage of Hugh de Reymes, and 4*s.* of the homage of John de Bernham, and did not account for them.

Thomas Kok, parson of Northrepps, Geoffrey de Aula of Antyngham, Richard, son of Nicholas of the same place, Simon Lomb of Shyrinton, Clement Grycke of Ovestronde, Reyner de Almerton, Roger de Methewold of Gymingham, Stephen Puty of the same place, John, son of Robert Brunyng of Ructon, Margery la Cuytur of Audeburgh, William Rune of Ructon, William le Coupere of Suthfeud, William le Loverd of Suthfeud, William le Loverd, chaplain of the same place, John Earl Warenn, William de Warenn his son, Gwydo Ferre, Peter de Lenche, and the master of the Hospital of St. Anthony, (the) neighbours do not come the first day,⁸ and are therefore fined.

The following are mentioned as having fled—Cecily Cokkere of Thurgarton and her son Roger (theft); John Grym (theft); Cecily Munk of Repps (theft and burglary);

⁸ Of the holding the pleas.

Robert Sutor of Suthfeud, Cecily his wife, and Roger Coddyng of Buk (for burglary in the house of William le Loverd); Alice Syck of Runton (for receiving Thomas de Horsey who was hung); William del Hyl of Shypeden (homicide and theft); Herman Styke of Audeburgh (burglary in the house of Edmund le Chapelyn); Ralph Cuye of Audeburgh (burglary in the house of Thomas Coursoun); Henry Brese of N. Repps (burglary); William le Hangere of Bernyngham and Agnes atte Lode (burglary); Roger, son of Ralph of Suthwode, Roger le Meyster of Sythestrond, and Matilda de Thurgarton (burglary, &c.); and Thomas Buntynge (burglary).

Therefore they are to be "exigented" and then outlawed, and the women are to be "waived."⁹

An account of their goods is given. Ralph Cuye is in the tithing of Roger son of the Constable in Audeburgh, Roger, son of Cecily, in the tithing of William le Paunner in Thurgarton, John Grym in the tithing of Herman Grym in Hanworth, Robert Sutor in the tithing of Reginald Bugg in Suthfeud, Roger Coddyng in the tithing of Ralph Cullyng in ditto, and Herman Styke in the tithing of William "de ecclesia" of Audeburgh.

Roger Stypolf of Almerton fled for burglary, &c. He was in the tithing of Aylwerd le Flemynge in Aylwarton.¹

The town of Plumsted accounts for 8s. the value of the goods of William Sperner of Plumstead, hung, which Philip de Coldham collected without a warrant, and for which he is therefore fined.

A certain coiner being taken at Gunton is sent to Norwich gaol and thence to Newgate, and is there convicted and quartered (or torn to pieces by horses?—*distractus*.)

⁹ Women never having been sworn to the lete, were never properly speaking "in the law," so the term for them was "*derelicta*," waived, or left out.

¹ Mistakes in spelling like this seem to indicate that the roll was taken down, or copied, by some scribe strange to the county.

John, son of Elyas of the county of York, and Roger, son of Nicholas le Kalewe² of North Repps, took sanctuary in North Repps, admitting themselves guilty of theft and homicide.

The town of Gyvingham accounts for 6s. 8d., the value of the goods of Clement Truket, hung.

Presentment that Roger, Earl of Norfolk, claims free warren in Suthfeud and market in Honeworth, viz., on the vigil, the day, and the last of St. Bartholomew, and a fair in Audeburgh, viz., on the vigil, the feast, and the last of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that he claims such fair.

The earl appears by his attorney and denies that he claims warren in Southfeud, and as to Hanworth market says that King John granted it to Roger le Bygot his ancestor and his heirs by his charter, which he produces. The jury find in his favour. As to Audeburgh fair he alleges user from time immemorial, but produces no evidence, so agrees to pay 12d. a year for it, which is taken by consent.

Presentment that Roger Bygot, Earl of Norfolk, claims "infongenethef" in Hanworth, so that if any thief were found in it and condemned to be hung the earl might take him to his manor of Coleby in South Erpingham and hang him there. The earl appears by his attorney and says that the manor of Hanworth used to be a member of Coleby before the hundred of North Erpingham came into the king's hands, and that both hundreds in that time used to be as though one hundred. (No finding of the jury.)

The jury find that all the free tenants of the soke of Gyvingham, in which is contained the eight villages of Gyvingham, Monesle, Knapeton, Suthreppes, Sythestrond, Trunch, N. Repps, and Trimingham, used to follow the sheriff's turn twice a year with four men and the constable of each village until sixteen years ago, when John de

² Callow is still a common name in the parish.

Warenn, Earl of Surrey, withdrew such villages from such turn to damage of the king of 16s. a year.

John, son of Nicholas de Lose of Thorp market, is presented for various withdrawals and defaults in respect of land now held by John, son of John, son of Nicholas, Thomas de Ponte, and others.

Presentment that the king ought to receive 6s. 8d. a year for rent called "Letesye" from the men of Walter de Mauteby in the town of Matlask, Bernyngham, and Plumsted, for thirty-two years past, when William de Valence withdrew it. William de Valence appears by his attorney and says that Matlask, Bernyngham, Plumsted, and *Mauteby* are members of his manors of Saxthorp and Stivekeye, and that they were confirmed to him in 36 Hen. III. by charter.

Henry le Noble, formerly seneschal of Earl Warenn, is mentioned.

Mem. 52 d.

The jury present that Julian de Gunnegate gave a certain piece of his land in Tunbernyngham to his son Roger, and charged him to pay (in respect thereof) 1d. per year to the Hospital of St. John of Keresbrok.

And afterwards the said Roger, &c., (a dispute as to scot and lot, as to which a *venire facias* issues against Roger and the master of the hospital.)

The jury present that King Richard used to receive a mark yearly from certain tenements in the towns of Northrepps, Plumsted, Matelask and Antyngham, and assigned it to God and the abbey of St. Edmund to find a proper wax candle to burn before the shrine of St. Edmund, and the jury find that it is still kept burning.

Presentments that Henry de Grey holds the manor of Shyryngham in capite of the king by the service of 12d. yearly.

That Hubert de Burgo held the manors of Beeston and Runton, paying therefore 20s. to the castle guard of Dover; and that William de Warenn and Matilda his wife now hold the said manors in capite of the king by the same services.

Of liberties, they find that John de Warenn, Earl of Surrey, claims wreck wherever his lands in the soke of Gimmingham are next the shore; and also gallows, view of frankpledge, assize of bread and ale, and free warren in the same soke, and also market in each week on Saturdays in his manor of Trunch.

That Henry de Grey claims wreck on his lands at Shyringham, and gallows, view of frankpledge, assize of bread and ale, and market on Thursdays in the same place.

That William de Warenn claims wreck in Beston and Runton, and view of frankpledge, assize of bread and ale, and free warren in same.

That Roger de Felebrugg claims wreck in the same towns, view of frankpledge, assize of bread and ale, and warren on his demesne lands.

That the prior of Beston claims the same liberties on his lands in the same towns.

That William Clement claims wreck on his lands and assize of bread and ale of his tenants in Runton.

That Hugh de Reymes claims wreck and free warren in Ouvestrend.

That Roger le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk, claims view of frankpledge and assize of bread and ale in Haneworth.

That John de Melewode claims view of frankpledge and assize of bread and ale in Guneton.

That Robert de Stoteville claims assize of bread and ale and free warren in Gresham.

That John de Eggemere claims view of frankpledge and assize of bread and ale among his tenants in Shypeden.

That William (*sic*) de Felmyngham claims view of frankpledge and assize of bread and ale in Bekham. "And they do not know by what warrant."³

And Henry le (*sic*) Grey, Roger de Felebrigg, and Peter (*sic*) de Felmyngham, by the said Henry their attorney, come and say that their ancestors died seized of the said liberties. The jury find so. The king is to have a writ against them (however?) and William de Gyselham is directed to follow it up (?) (*Et dictū est Witto de Gyselham* ⁴ *qđ seq^rtur ꝑc.*)

And the prior of Beston comes and says he found his priory seized of the said liberties. "*Et jur^o; &c.,*" as before.

And John de Melewode, Robert de Stoteville, and John de Eggemere do not come. Therefore let their liberties be taken into the king's hands, &c.

And John de Warenn Earl of Surrey, William de Warenn, and Roger le Bygod, answer as appears in the pleas of our lord the king of "*Quo warranto.*"

The jury present that William de Goldyngham, formerly seneschal of Earl Warenn, and Hugh de Welyngham, servant of the said earl, took Warin son of Christiana, and William his brother, William Wende, Henry Wende, and Ralph Sely at Gillyngham, (*sic*) and put them into a house within the court of Gyvingham, and closed up the doors of such house with nails, and detained them there in prison for a day till they paid a fine of 10s. William comes and makes (pays) a fine as appears under the hundred of Thetford. Hugh is not to be found.

The jury present that Roger Matelask extorted 20s. of divers men.

³ It does not appear whether this applies only to this or to all the foregoing entries.

⁴ He was the king's attorney 7—14 Edward I., sergeant-at-law 9 Edward I., and afterwards judge of the C.P.—Foss, p. 300.

Also that William de Redham, late sheriff⁵ took (extorted) half-a-mark of William Queyntement of Sithestronde, half-a-mark of John de la Chaumbre of Gyvingham, half-a-mark of Alice Caunning, Nicholas del Hil, Agnes Cuttyng, and Clement Partrych.⁶ Also that William de Rothyng, sheriff,⁷ took 20s. of Simon Fenges of Felebrigg and Roger his son, and that William Giffard,⁸ formerly sheriff, took two marks of William Grund of Suthfeud.

Also that Roger Gyffyn of Moneale, the bailiff of John de Warenn, Earl of Surrey, at Gyvingham, and Warin Cokschyteneye of Paston, and others unknown, took away the farm horses of Warin fil' Cristiana and William his brother, and of William Wende and others in the town of Ovestronde, outside the fee of the said earl, and drove them to Gyvingham, and there kept them in pound till they agreed a fine.

Also that William de Byntre, formerly bailiff of William de Valenč, would not allow the king's bailiff to distrain for debt in his manors of Matelask, Plumsted, and Bernyngham for debt. Therefore, &c.

Also that John Seffrey of Wausingham encroached five perches in length and two feet in width on the king's highway at Basyngham, for which he is fined. The sheriff is directed to replace the road.

Also that Adam de Rudham and Geoffrey Wodecok took 6d. of William Brining, 6d. of John Brynyng, 6d. of John Martyn, and 6d. of Robert Frend, for removing them from juries and attendances at assize (*p amovend ipos de jur*⁹ *t ass.*) Also 10d. of John de Soriaunt and William Love.⁹

⁵ William de Redeham was sheriff 7—9 and 19—22 Edward I., and is said by Blomefield, iii. p. 59, to have been bailiff of Norwich in 1266, but I believe the bailiff was really William de Refham.

⁶ No doubt the well-known Norfolk name of Partridge.

⁷ Sheriff 10—16 Edward I.

⁸ Sheriff 54 Henry III. to 2 Edward I.

⁹ Still a very common name in the hundred.

Also that William de Ponte of Aylsham took of William de la Bruere of Gunton, and Clement, son of the parson of the same place, 8s. for removing them from a certain jury at a trial between William fil' John and Ralph de Reppes.

Also that Luke de Wycmere, formerly sub-bailiff of the said hundred, took 12*d.* of Geoffrey, the son of Geoffrey de Runton, and 12*d.* of Richard Odyn of the same place for the same thing. Therefore, &c.

Also that Robert de Causton, formerly bailiff of the hundred, took 4s. by divers extortions of divers men.

Also that William Dekker, warrener of Earl Warren, extorted 5s. of Ralph Moryn.

Also that Roger de Lynthweyt, formerly bailiff, extorted 4s. of Amicia Sely.

Also that William Clement, bailiff of the hundred, extorted of Eða de la Funtayne 18*d.*

Also that Roger de Lynthweyt, extorted 6s. of Avelina Havard, and 4s. of Matilda Bere. Therefore, &c.

Also that William Giffard, formerly sheriff, caused Alan le Lung, (who when in prison became approver) to appeal against John de Melewode, for an alleged unjust distrainment for money extorted from him, which John was afterwards acquitted before the justices assigned (for that purpose). And took twelve marks from the said John. Therefore let him be taken. And William Gyffard had a day given him (to answer the accusation), viz., in the last of All Saints, at Ipswich.

Also that Añis de Thorp distrained certain horses of Bartholomew de Castre, and sold the distrainment to Andrew Puppe and Simon Ray, who took off their horseshoes and carried away their halters. Therefore, &c.

Clerical Thieves temp. Edward I.

THE following occurs at mem. 77 of the Crown Plea Roll
for Norfolk, 14 Edward I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 6$.

Convictū est p Juř in q^m Albreda de Lyoniis ⁊ Gocelinus quondā decan9 de Sph^m se posueřt qđ ubi pđca Albreda corā eo acusata esset qđ vendidisse debuit Johi de la Wade Aliciā filiam suam p una ac^a ıre ut esset cōcubina sua ⁊ ipā de acusaōe illa opt se purgāř in forma Juris ⁊ ipē purgatōem suam resucasset ⁊ ab ea extorsisse debuisset v^a p eodē qđ idē Goceling spontanea voluntate ipius Albrede cepit ab ea pđcos v^a eo qđ veraci⁹ impōitū fuit ei crimē pđcm et nō potuit se inde purgare. Idō considerē est qđ Goceling inde sñ die ⁊ pđca Albreda nichil cap p querelam suam s. sit in miā p fto clař.

The above entry is curious as informing us how Albreda was charged before the dean with having sold her daughter to one John de la Wade as a concubine for an acre of land, and how she alleged he took a bribe of five shillings to purge her of the accusation. In this case the dean seems to have been innocent, but very many of the clergy of the period seem to have been extremely lawless persons. The number of them who are charged on these Crown Plea Rolls with different crimes would be incredible to any one who has not searched such records: *e.g.*, mem. 6 of the same roll has a charge of illegal rescue against John de Berestreet, sub-dean of Norwich, and William le Chapeller, capellanus; and mem. 74 a charge of murdering an unknown chaplain at Barsham against William the chaplain of Hunstanton, who is found guilty. On another roll (17 Edward II.) we find two vicars, Ralph of Uberton and John Attemer of Cratefield, charged with murder and robbery of John le Walshman at Uberton (mem. 55), William, parson of St. Botulph of Norwich, with an illegal rescue of a thief (mem. 54), Galfridus, capellanus, vicar of Siberton, with theft (mem. 53), Ralph, parson of Erpingham, with theft (mem. 26), and so on.

W. R.

ROUGH INDEXES NOMINUM

TO

The Feet of Fines for Norfolk

FOR THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., AND MARY.

BY WALTER RYE.

THE so-called "Index Finium," preserved at the Record Office, which begins with the 1st Henry VIII., is nothing more or less than short notes of the fines, giving the Christian and surnames of the first plaintiff and the first defendant, the locality, each term, and arranged under counties, but not in alphabetical order.

Though easier to search than the fines themselves, the want of an index to them practically bars their use to any but determined and persevering searchers, and it was to save myself trouble once for all that I made the lexicographical indexes of them, of which I now print three. Such indexes must by no means be relied on as giving the names of all parties to any fine, in fact, owing to the principle on which the original so-called index was made, they cannot give more than one plaintiff and one defendant. Still I have found them of great use, and I hope others may do the same, and my excuse for their incompleteness must be that they are better than nothing, and may serve till a proper Government index is made from the fines themselves. I may mention that further particulars of

the fines for Edward VI. and Mary may be obtained from vol. xiv. of Le Neve's Indexes at the Record Office, which are easier to consult than the fines.

When a fine comprised land in two or more counties, it is catalogued under the "divers counties" at the end of each term in the MS. Index Finium itself. All these "divers counties" fines I have not included in the following compilation. It is noteworthy that in some of the years of Henry VIII.'s reign some terms passed without any Norfolk fines being levied, or at all events recorded in the Index, *e.g.*, Hilary 3, Easter 4, Michaelmas 9, Hilary 9, Easter 10, and Trinity 10.

The references M 34, H 25, E 4, &c., refer to the term and the year of the reign—Michaelmas, 34th Henry VIII. ; Hilary, 25th Henry VIII., &c.

HENRY VIII.

Abbes, M 28	Algar, E 14	Archer, H 13, M 16 (2)
Abbyes, M 16, T 21	Allisaunder, T 1	Arle, M 10
Abrygge, M 30	Allward, E 18	Armgard, M 25
Acars, M 33 (v. Akers)	Alpe, M 28, M 29, E 35, E 36, T 38, M 38	Arnold, M 33 (2)
Adalton, E 23, M 28	Alwyn, M 30	Artest, H 13
Adcok, M 24	Alyngton, M 26	Astley, M 11, H 24, E 28 (2)
Ailwyn, M 27 (and vide Aylwin)	Alyxon (v. Rychard) M 34	Aston, al's Chambers, H 29
Aimond, E 16	Amere, H 28	Athill, E 20
Akay, M 34	Amfles, T 4	Atley, E 35
Ake, M 37	Amond, M 37	At Mere, E 4, M 33
Akers, T 28, T 36	Amyas, T 38	Atmere, M 26, T 27
Aldand, E 30	Amye, M 18	Atkyn, M 29
Aldeham, M 22	Amysson, M 30	Atkyns, M 34, H 35, E 38
Alden, M 31	Anderson, M 27	Attlond, E 26
Alderton, E 25 (2)	Andrewes, M 23, M 25, T 26, M 27, H 35	Atwodde, M 20
Aldrych, H 17	Angos, M 23	Audeley, E 9, H 18, M 26, M 32, E 35
Aldyn, T 39	Angot, H 5	Aunswre, M 31
Alee, M 31, M 32	Annoire, M 18	Austen, M 28, H 35
Alen, M 20, M 21, E 28, M 33	Aporoge, H 34	Austeyn, M 27
Aleward, H 26	Applewyn, T 29	Avyson, M 31
Alewyn, E 7-8	Appleyard, M 26, M 29, E 36	Aylmer, E 30, M 33
Alexaunder, M 21	Applyere, E 6	Aylwyn, M 33 (and vide Ailwyn)
Aleyn, T 2, M 7, T 23 (2), M 24, M 26, E 28, M 29, M 31, M 33, M 36	Apprice, T 5	

- Bacon, T 34, M 35, H 36, E 38, T 39
 Bak, M 23
 Bake, M 31
 Baker, M 5, M 11, M 14, M 18, M 19, M 29, H 32, E 36, M 37, M 38
 Baldewyn, M 11, M 38
 Baldyng, M 23
 Balenger, M 29
 Ball, Balle, E 7, E 28, M 28, H 29, E 31, M 32, E 36, M 36
 Bannok, al's Barbour, M 33
 Banyard, T 13, E 18, M 18, M 20, H 21, T 26 (2)
 Barbour, M 26, H 26, M 37 (2)
 Barbour, (vide Bannok) M 33
 Baret, H 31
 Bargh, M 26
 Barker, H 20, M 28 (3), E 35
 Barnard, H 25
 Barnardyston, M 38
 Barne, M 26
 Barney, T 4, M 14, M 20, M 29
 Baron, E 26, M 28, H 32
 Barons H 6, E 7
 Barrett, M 30
 Barrous, E 28
 Barsham, H 31
 Bartylmewe, M 38
 Baroyle, H 23
 Basham, M 34
 Bassett, T 36, H 36
 Bateman, E 4-5, H 28, H 35
 Bathe, M 29
 Bathecombe, E 13
 Battle, Prior of, T 30
 Batys, E 20
 Baxter, Baxster, Backster, M 11, M 12, E 17, E 20-21, M 23, M 24 (2), E 25, H 25, H 26, E 28, M 28, M 30 (2), E 36, M 37, H 37 (2)
 Bayspole, M 23
 Baylyff, M 33
 Bealys, M 33
 Beaupre, H 24, T 32, T 33, E 34, M 36, H 36
 Beckham, H 2, E 3
 Bedingfield, E 20, H 24, H 25, T 27, E 28, T 32 (3), T 33, H 33, E 37, H 38, M 29
 Beetson, M 29
 Bekenham, M 29
 Beket, M 23, E 28
 Bekett, E 14
 Bale, M 29
 Belknapp, T 7
 Belle, M 31
 Belys, H 23, M 28, M 34
 Bemanyrn, M 21
 Bend, H 36
 Bende, E 7-8, M 12
 Bendys, E 23
 Benet, M 20
 Bennett, M 11, M 26, E 28
 Bengeamyn, T 21
 Benne, M 26
 Bennett, M 29
 Benskyn (P), M 31
 Benslyn, M 31
 Benson, M 25
 Beny (P), E 38
 Benyngton, E 36
 Bercy, M 19
 Berney, M 33
 Bery, T 18, E 36
 Beter M 19
 Betesen, M 6
 Betham, H 29
 Bottys, M 26
 Beverley, T 35
 Bevys, M 21 (bis)
 Bewshere, E 20-21
 Rexwell, E 22
 Billysby, M 24
 Bigott
 Billingford
 Binham
 Bird
 Bishop
 Blackwood, M 37
 Blagge, H 10 (3)
 Blakeney, M 38
 Blewyck, H 37
 Bliaunt, E 11 (v. Blyant)
 Blomefield, Blomesfvlld, Blomvyld, E 36, T 36, T 38
 Blomevyle, Blomvyle, H 14, M 34, E 35, H 36, M 37, M 38 (2)
 Blowfeld, M 32
 Blyant, T 25 (bis) (v. Bliaunt)
 Bokenham, H 17, T 26, M 29
 Boleyn, H 17, T 38
 Bolion, M 18
 Bolle, M 18
 Bolt, M 3
 Bolter, E 25
 Bolton, H 22, H 29, T 36
 Bonde, E 4-5, H 12, M 32, E 26, H 38
 Bonying, E 17
 Borell, M 27, M 28
 Borone, E 28
 Borough, E 4-5
 Boroun, E 26
 Bosom, E 7
 Boston, T 19, T 30, E 36
 Boswell, H 17
 Bothe, M 18
 Botolffe, T 16, M 16
 Botry, E 6
 Boty, M 30
 Bourghcher, H 12
 Bourne, H 32
 Bowes, T 12, E 28, M 38
 Bowgden, M 37, M 38
 Bowham, T 31
 Bowle, T 33
 Bownham, M 25
 Bowse, T 26, M 27
 Bowser, M 34
 Bowys, E 33
 Boxford, M 19
 Boyes, T 17
 Boys, H 8
 Bozom, E 23-24 (bis)
 Brad, M 29
 Bradbache, T 27
 Bradeley, H 38
 Bradfeld, M 32
 Bradforth, M 37
 Brady, E 9
 Bramesby, M 31 (v. Bramysly)
 Brampston, E 36
 Brampton, T 14, H 17, H 21, T 23, H 28, M 37
 Branche, E 30, M 30, E 33
 Brandon, M 1, E 4, T 5, M 10, M 27
 Branstell, M 24
 Braunche, M 3, E 28, H 33
 Bredge, M 28
 Breesse, M 32
 Brekkying, al's Dyryk, M 19
 Bremier, M 21
 Breten, M 28
 Breton, T 36

- Bretten, M 32
 Bretton, M 31
 Brian (v. Bryan)
 Briggs E 26 (v. Brygge)
 Bright (v. Bryght)
 Briston, E 17
 Broke, E 19, T 35, H 37
 Brom, M 25
 Brome, H 13
 Bromwell, H 8
 Bronde, E 3, M 12, M 20
 Broun, H 13, M 22, M 24, M 30, M 31, H 32, T 39
 Browne, E 4-5, E 13, T 21, E 26, E 31, T 31, E 34 (bis), M 38, and M 1, M 2, E 5 (bis)
 Browster, M 24
 Bryan, T 32
 Bryggys, E 28, H 35, M 37
 Bryght, M 33
 Bryse, H 32
 Buchiller, H 12
 Bulbroke, M 14
 Bull, M 25
 Bulley, E 16
 Bulleyn, E 33
 Bullok, M 23, E 25, E 28
 Bupry (?), T 32
 Burden, E 17, T 33
 Burman, M 33
 Burnhan, T 31
 Burry, M 23
 Burahand, M 38
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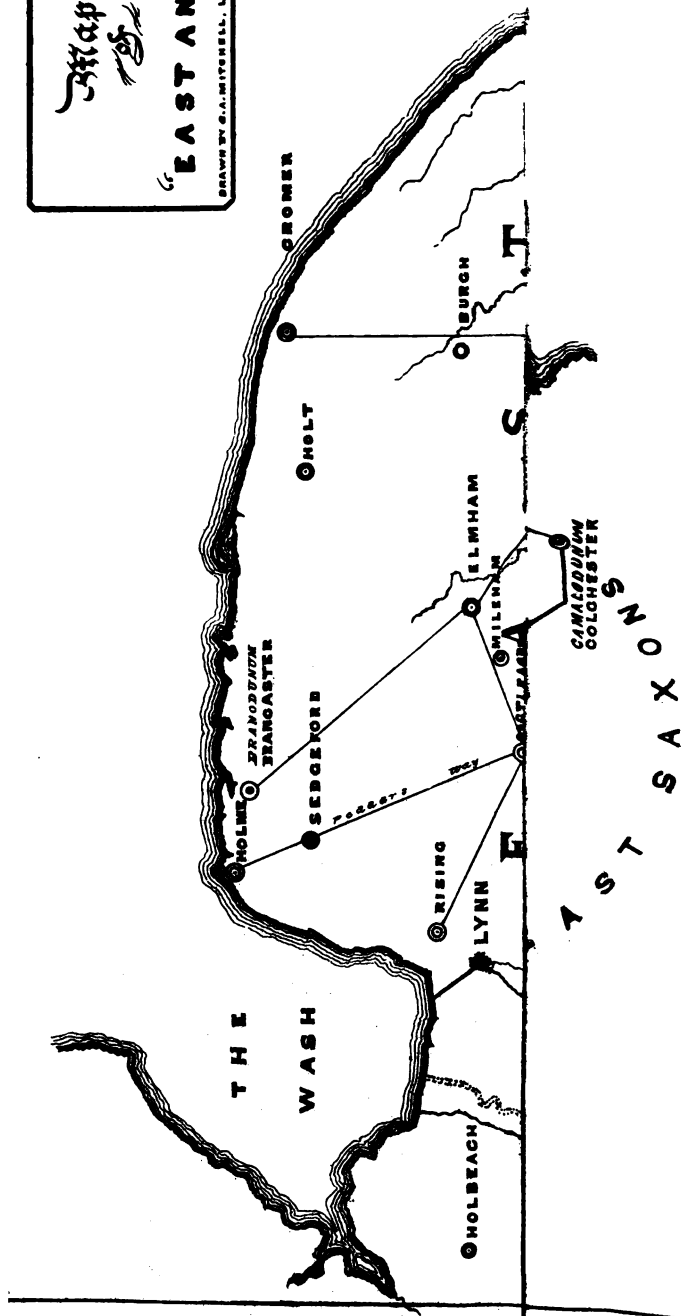
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Map

"EAST ANGLIA."

DRAWN BY G.A. MITCHELL, LYNN.



Our Home in East Anglia.

BY

EDWARD MILLIGEN BELOE.

I SHALL endeavour in this sketch to isolate its subject from the remainder of the kingdom of which we now apparently form so undivided a part, and as a Norfolk man addressing Norfolk men, to trace ourselves and our ancestry.

The distinction of boundary and race of the original tribal divisions of a country are almost indestructible. Let it be overrun, cut up, made the subject of treaty, either of convenience or conquest, they are extinguished only for a time, to reappear when the storm has passed or the ties of treaty have been slackened. If we require strongly-defined examples to illustrate our positions in history we have to look to France, where the territorial lines have been more strongly marked, and the civilization, though it may have received temporary shocks, has never been annihilated and reformed as has been the case with us. In Gaul the old tribal divisions of the different races and governments were never obliterated, though gathered under one government by the Romans; overrun, conquered, and apparently stamped out by Visigoths, and reduced as part of one homogeneous empire by the conquest of Charlemagne; when the government of that great

king relaxed after his death, in the hands of his incompetent successors, the alien governors of the several outlying districts attracted to themselves the old stock on whose support they had to depend, and when the wave of conquest subsided, the original division of the ancient tribes re-appeared and were formed again round those same governors who relied on the support of the original inhabitants to gain and sustain their independence against their overlords.

Frequently the governing city took its name from the Celtic or Belgic tribe which the first conqueror disturbed, and whose identity, apparently, he had stamped out as he did its language and government. But the race and the character and instinct remained, to appear again after eight hundred years, to close itself round its protecting and governing power, whether it was a bishop or baron, nominally still dependent on the original authority of the empire, but practically independent, thereby forming that system which fostered the early growth of Europe when it settled down after the breaking up of the Roman authority and the invasion and conquest of the northern and western barbarians. The Continent alone gives us illustration of the feudal system, our own was but a feeble example of its power.

We have first to learn of ourselves from our enemies, or at least from our invaders. Julius Cæsar made two visits to Britain. He arrived the first time on the 26th August, in 55 B.C., and left on the 20th September—scarcely a month—and he does not seem to have gathered much knowledge of us on this visit; but he returned again in May of the following year, and made a longer stay, and it is on this visit we have the first mention of our home. The note is short, and shows us in the light of more discretion than valour. He says, "The Trinobantes being protected "and secured from the violence of the soldiers, the Ceni "Magni (and others named) sending embassies surrender

“themselves to Cæsar.” We were called by him the Great Ceni. That is the only special notice of ourselves by the first historian who wrote of our island from personal observation, and it is the only notice. The opening statement, however, of his history, describing Gaul, will assist us a little in finding out who we were. He says, “All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgæ inhabit; the Aquitani another; those who in their own language they call Celts, in ours Gauls, the third.” So that when Cæsar speaks of Gauls he means Celts, and they were distinct from the Belgæ. When he came he found the interior of our country inhabited by those born in the island itself, the maritime portion by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgæ (I am quoting literally), “almost all of whom are called by the names of those states from whence they sprung.” “The number of the people,” he says, “is countless, their buildings exceedingly numerous, for the most part very like the Gauls, and the number of their cattle is great.” And again he says, by way of parenthesis, in his description of a battle, “Now the Britons, when they have fortified the intricate woods, in which they are wont to assemble for the purpose of awaiting the incursion of an enemy, with an intrenchment and a rampart, call them a town (oppidum).” This describes and accounts for many of those grand earthworks which in East Anglia, more than any other, have marked the land.

Now, from the above description of Cæsar, it is very doubtful if in his time East Anglia was Celtic, or whether it was of the maritime part in which the Belgæ had settled. Boadicea, the great central figure of our early history, would seem by her fair hair and figure rather to belong to Belgic settlers who had supplanted the original inhabitants. Dion thus describes her, in a piece of what we may call picturesque reporting, “She, however, who chiefly excited and urged them to fight, was Boadicea, who was deemed worthy to

“command them, and who had led them in every battle, a Briton of royal race, and of more than female spirit. Having collected an army of 120,000”—I am quoting literally—“she, after the Roman custom, ascended a tribune of marshy earth.” And this is the rather poetic description of the person of the queen, whether Celtic or Belgic, “She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance and harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair which came down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar.¹ She had on a party-coloured floating vest, drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp.² Such was her usual dress, and she had a spear that she might appear more formidable. Her speech is given, and she then led her army against the Romans, their commander being absent, and wrought indescribable slaughter. But the Romans returned and defeated our queen, and killed numbers in the fight near the waggons and in a wood, and were all dispersed. “But Boadicea died, “and they bewailed her sorely, and buried her with great “funereal splendour.”

Tacitus gives the account with much greater simplicity, and his story is the one generally quoted. He says, “But Astorius, sensible how much first events would either sink or raise his reputation, and because a treacherous or slight peace would be no security to the general or his army, he prepared to disarm the suspicious, and to post his forces upon the river Antona and Sabrina to check them upon all occasions; but first the Iceni could not brook this, a potent nation, and not yet shaken by the wars, having before sought the friendship of the Romans. By their example the bordering nations rise likewise, encamping in a convenient place, fenced with an earthen rampier, and accessible by a narrow passage only to prevent the entrance of the horse.

¹ The torque, of the purest gold found in British graves.

² The fibula, of which so many beautiful examples remain.

“The Roman general, though without his legions, drew up his
 “auxiliary troops to force the camp, and having posted his
 “foot to the best advantage, brought up the horse for the same
 “service. The signal was given : they forced the rampart
 “and disordered the enemy, pent up and hindered by their
 “own entrenchments. However, they defended themselves with
 “great valour, being conscious of their own baseness in re-
 “volting, and sensible that their escape was impossible,” and
 after this we hear no more of the Iceni. The Roman admin-
 istration became dominant ; it divided and levelled all, and
 took upon itself the protection of the country from outlying
 foes by its walls and littoral forts ; and from internal dis-
 content by their camps and stations. These, so far as they
 relate to ourselves, I will shortly describe. The first
 authority is Ptolemy, whose brief description of us is, “Next
 “after these (the Catyenchlayni) are the Simeni, whose town
 “is Venta.” Then we have the book which has caused so
 much lively discussion among those who have little to do,
 the *Itinerary of Antonine*. He takes all the great roads of
 the country, and puts down (like an ancient Bradshaw) the
 stations between the great towns ; and the thing to do is to
 sort out these names among the several towns and camps
 that remain. Of us Antonine gives the following brief
 account :—

The journey from Venta Icenorium (of the Iceni) to
 London. 1st, Venta Icenorium is understood to come first,
 though not named.

Sitomagus	32 stadia.
Combretonio	22 „
Ad Ansam	15 „
Cameloduno	6 „
Canonio	8 „
Cæsaromago	12 „
Durolito	16 „
Londinio	15 „

The site of the capital of the powerful nation of the Iceni is, I think, decided. The Venta (the British Gwent, a field,) and called Venta Icenorum to distinguish it from Venta Belgarum of the Belgæ whom Cæsar found, and the Venta.

About four miles to the south of Norwich lie the great embankments, and a few ruined walls of the Roman, stretching out on one side into the marsh in its very loneliness; the heron which I started rose with indignant scream, claiming the solitude for her own. The road, as of old, runs by the other side, and stretches on southward to the great camp of Tasburgh.

In times then distant, but now long past, the Norseman sailed up the estuary of the Yare, and finding a more convenient spot for his ships and his enterprise, founded the city, which became the capital of East Anglia, whose towers and castle are seen from the now lonely and ruined camp.

We have still a third authority, the *Notitia of the Empire in Britain*; and these three books are the very slender and almost only materials for the Roman geography of our island. The *Notitia* is the description of the divisions of the country, the military stations of the army, and the names of the troops which occupied them.

The jurisdiction of the "Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam," Count of the Saxon shore in Britian,—extended round, as the following is the part belonging to us:—

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitis Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam.

Præpositus numeri Fortensium Othonæ.

Præpositus militum Tungricanorum Dubiis.

Præpositus numeri Turnavencium Lemanis.

Præpositus Equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensis Brano-
duno (*Brancaster*).

Præpositus Equitum Stablesiorum Garriannensis Gar-
riannoni (*Burgh*).

Tribunus Cohortis primæ Vetasiarum Regulbio.

Præpositus Legionis II. Aug. Rutupis.

Præpositus numeri Abulcorum Anderidæ.

Præpositus numeri Exploratorum Portu adurni.

(Then follow the names of office of the several offices of the staff of the Court of the Saxon Shore.)

For the storm was rising in the east, and even before they left us the Romans had to make great camps for protection from a new invader by the sea. So great and sudden was that storm on us in East Anglia that, excepting the earthworks of their camps and a few personal ornaments and coins, we have no remains of the Roman occupation. I am aware of no pavements, nor villas, nor altars; for these we must go to York, Newcastle, London, Lincoln, and Leicester, where we can study their art and life when living with and civilizing the Celt.

The iron hand which, as I have said, so long administered our government and protected our shores, at length relaxed its grasp. The Dalmatians were removed from Brancaster, where their camp remains; the Stablesian Horse from Garrionum (Burgh by Yarmouth); and the invader from the shores of the Elbe came in his ships and drove back and back the people thus left to themselves. The precise manner and time of their first invasion is left in great obscurity. There is no contemporary history. The one book bearing the name of *Gildas*, probably a Romanised Christian Briton, *Excidium Britanum Liber Querulus*, the *Book of Wailing of the Fall of Britain*, is only the wild raving over wrong and slaughter wrought by the Saxon. It is just known that Kent was conquered first; the old people, the Cantii, whom Cæsar found, appearing again and retaining still as indestructible the trace of their tribal territory. It was doubtless so with us. The battle gained by the invaders would paralyse the district, which the leaders governed, and from which the soldiers came, and the government of the conquerors would be

substituted. It would extend only to the boundaries of the conquered race; beyond, the unsubdued tribes would again struggle for their liberty and retain their land, so that East Anglia would still correspond with the old land of the Icenî, though under a changed name. To the south the East Saxon settled, and the same gulfs and rivers that divided the Icenî from the Trinobantes would divide the Anglian and Saxon settlements.

In the same manner the broad bay of the Nene separated us from a people which to this day are distinct, having a different dialect, accent, and customs, which show that the Coritavi were different in race.

Again, to the west, there were great and natural impassable boundaries. The wild fens then were, and but for art would now soon be a great lake, in which the higher grounds were islands or a beach. Where the fens end and the higher grounds begun the invaders made a dyke, which for grandeur as it waves over the distant hills is quite unsurpassed. It extended from the fens to the woods, which then joined the southern rivers and bays, and protected, as I have said, the southern frontier.

I do not exaggerate when I say I have never been more struck with the colossal work of man than by the Devil's Dyke just after it rises from the fens at Reach and Burwell, and stretches out over the bare hills to Newmarket. The fosse or ditch is on the western side, showing that it was raised by the people of the east, that is the East Anglian, for protection from the west.

This dyke is very interesting in illustrating this paper as to the boundaries of our East Anglia. We have no account whatever of the administration and division of the Christian Church under the Romans; but when the heathen Teutonic nation had driven back the old inhabitants, each division settled on the land, and, probably, as I have mentioned, with the boundaries of the old tribe. No sooner had they

settled than a Christian mission appeared, the head of which would be the bishop of the tribe, and his jurisdiction the limits of the tribe. His diocese would be fixed by these. He was named, not by a territorial title, not at first by the name of the see, but the bishop of the people. Thus our early bishops were never, in speaking of their jurisdiction, the Bishops of East Anglia, but the Bishops of the East Angles. The Bishop of Worcester was the bishop of the old district of the Hwicci of the Celtic division, which the Teutons occupied in its old limits. Now, kindly follow me further, for this portion of my paper may be useful. These dioceses once formed and, especially after the settling of the ecclesiastical government of the country under Theodore of Tarsus, never varied. The kingdoms themselves might alter their limits by conquest, but the Church was bound by no secular treaty. It was distinct, and the priests of the district still held allegiance to the old bishops, though under other secular government. The fixture of the lines of the dioceses with the old boundaries of the tribes, and of the Saxon kingdoms, is curiously illustrated here. The kingdom of East Anglia was afterwards a little beaten in on the west, and the Bishop of the East Angles, now called the Bishop of Elmham, retained his old territory marked by the great fortification of the East Angles,¹ so that the diocese of the East Angles has handed down to us the limits of the Celtic or Belgic kingdom of the Iceni. There was, however, one piece of the old territory of East Anglia broken off to the west in the seventh century, and in which the most beautiful of all our cathedrals is built; and, though I seem to anticipate, I think it better to finish the question of the boundaries of East Anglia now. Anna, the third independent king after Sigebert (whom we shall shortly name), has been

¹ The diocese of Norwich extended beyond the county of Suffolk to the Dyke before the recent change.

more renowned in his daughters than in himself. The eldest, Etheldreda, married the prince of the south, Gervii, whose seat was at Ely, expressly mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis* to be in East Anglia. Bede says, "Elge, a province of the East Angles, a district in the form of an island, surrounded either with fens or waters." Etheldreda became the ruler of the province on her husband's death, and having been advanced to great honour as the Queen of Northumbria, withdrew from the world and founded the Monastery of the Fens, and died its abbess. Her three sisters became famous as saints, and St. Withburga lay at Dereham, whence her body was stolen by the monks of Ely, who tell the whole story of the taking of her remains in their *Chronicle* with the most audacious candour, praising God for the success of the expedition. The building up of the four great monasteries of the fens is one of the most remarkable events of these early times. Crowland, Peterborough, and Ramsey were built close to the edge of the wild and desolate region, either fen or water, as Bede has it. They became the lights and support and missions of the early Christianity of our district, and with Glastonbury and Westminster, were the greatest in the kingdom.

Having now described where our East Anglia extended, we will get together the few materials from which we may trace its special history.

The conquest of Britain was the most complete of all the Teutonic invasions of the Roman empire. It completely supplanted the old language. It adopted entire the Germanic system of government and administration, and a Teutonic people inhabited the country, giving to their settlements the names either of their families or the houses or enclosures, for in East Anglia there are but few British names of places left, the town of Lynn being a very exceptional example. A comparison with Gaul will show this clearer. There the Latin completely supplanted the Celtic tongue. The natives

spoke it well, and became great advocates even among the Romans themselves. As each German wave swept over Gaul the language of the conqueror could not withstand the strength of the more perfect Latin tongue. The Visigoths, though long settled, left no impression on the language. And you must remember that Charlemagne, though the head of the Franks, was not a Frenchman in our meaning of the word; but he and the Franks were German, and spoke German; and though he laid the whole of Gaul under his feet, and the land was called after his own nation, the speech of that nation left no impression on the language of the country. Again, the Normans settled and occupied a large territory, but in two generations they forgot their own tongue, and spoke perhaps more firmly than the rest the language of Rome. In France the older Roman institutions survived and still impress the government locally and nationally. With us all is different. The Roman language never got the better of the native Celtic as it did in France, and the Celt, when driven back, took with him his language almost untouched. Our own language, the English, is partly Teutonic in structure, and though the Saxon must now be learnt as a dead language, yet it is the foundation of our own. For our institutions we must look, not to Rome, but to the Germania of Tacitus. We had the same love for country life, the same power of government in public meeting of the tribes. The Teuton held the land free from the influence and the tradition and the language of all the people that had inhabited it before them.

But history is, as I have said, almost silent as to these first settlements. When some distinctness begins we find the different invading tribes had formed seven or eight independent kingdoms, of which our East Anglia was one. I have said the coming storm was rising before the Romans left us. They had found it necessary to build fortresses on the coast to resist the invasions of the barbarians, who were called

by the common name of Saxons. When those fortresses were deserted those "Saxons" came. There is a difference of opinion as to the manner of their invasion. On the one hand it is contended that the invaders settled as conquerors only, not exterminating the native Celts or Belgæ, but keeping them as the subject race, the other that the inhabitants were driven out or slaughtered, and that the land was cleared. If we believe the wail of Gildas, the old people were swept off the land. It was with us in East Anglia probably a slow and gradual process, begun before the Romans left, and making more rapid progress when their resistance was gone. Florence of Worcester gives their early kings, sprung from Woden of course, and all mythical.

When history begins we find the royal seat of our kings at Dunmoe (Dunwich), where barbarian kings ruled a heathen race. Redwold comes to the front as the first on whom dependence can be placed. He was tenth from Woden, and the grandson of Uffa, hence the patronymic Uffings to our East Anglian kings, so Bede says. His sons Eorpwold and Reghere succeeded him, and Sigebert, the brother of Eorpwold, resigned. On Reghere's death he, Sigebert, a most Christian and learned man, having been banished to France, received there the Christian faith and the sacraments, which, when he succeeded to his kingdom, he caused all his province to partake. His exertions were most nobly promoted by the Bishop Felix, who coming to Honorius, the Archbishop from Burgundy, where he had been born and ordained, and having told him what he desired, he sent him to preach the word of life to the aforesaid nation of the Angles. He had the see of his bishopric appointed him at Dunmoe, and having presided over the same province with pontifical authority for seventeen years, he ended his days there in peace, and from him to our present worthy Bishop there has been one continued succession.

We possess two contemporary records, the *Saxon Chronicle*, which continued in the native tongue long after the Conquest; the other, the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Venerable Bede, written in Latin. From these we have to gather our early development. We learn that there was another kingdom of the Angles in the north, Northumbria. This rose the dominant kingdom, and held the Bretwalda or overlordship of the Saxon seven kingdoms, and on Edwin their king and his successors depended the East Anglian kings. Then the central heathen, the Mercians (a mixed race, and who were first so called because they dwelt on the borders or marches of the settled eastern kingdoms), under their heathen King Penda, beat back the Northumbrian from the Humber, and raised his country to the supreme power; and Sigebert, who had retired and was a monk at Bury, was killed in 634. *Egfric* the son of Sigebert was killed by Penda, and Anna his son, famous as we have seen in his daughters, was involved in similar destruction. Then Oswin the Northumbrian again comes supreme, and murders Penda the Mercian heathen, and Ethelhere the brother of Anna, who was a traitor. Then comes confusion, till St. Ethelbert of East Anglia, who was treacherously slain by Offa the Mercian king, who and whose successors kept down our royal race.

These facts show the only well-authenticated events of one of the smaller kingdoms. The kingdoms of the eastern coast were small, and never gained supremacy, but they all retained their old boundaries and name, and are so known to the present day, East Anglia, Essex, with whom were the Middle Saxons, Kent, and Sussex. The struggle for the master power, lay down the centre of the kingdom. First Northumbria, then Mercia came to the head; and still proceeding southward, in Wessex, whose royal seat was Winchester, under a series of able kings, permanently made subject all the rest, and formed one kingdom; and

in this ebb and flow of power in the centre of the kingdom caused the divisions of the country to be uncertain and varying, and as each part was conquered a new division had to be made, and so formed the "shires," named after the seat of some small local power, and on which we who have our kingdom entire, and claim the name of North and South Folk of East Anglia, look down, I fear, with something like contempt.

The year that Egbert the great West Saxon king beat the Mercian at Helledon was 826, and the East Anglian, then oppressed by the Mercian and protected by Egbert, killed two other of their kings; and the following year, 827, is generally fixed as the union of the kingdom, "Angle Land," though Egbert was not crowned till 829. But Egbert had only just gained the headship of the kingdom when a kindred race came over the sea, untameable savage heathens, of such ferocity, energy, and cruelty, there had nothing been seen or heard of before. Their first coming was in 787, and for two hundred years the *Chronicles* are filled with the details of rapine, robbery, murder, and crime which these invaders committed. They were met, however, by a race of kings who ruled the land of England, one after another, with courage, ability, and energy.

The annals of no country, certainly not in contemporaneous history, can show a continued succession of kings who by their courage, care, and wisdom met the invaders in war, and in peace themselves provided literature and culture for their own people, and spread learning and made laws for their security and prosperity. A king, called by his subjects the "Unready," however, allowed the people to become the subjects of a Dane, who also left in these *Chronicles* a name as great, if not greater, than the kings of the native race.

Now, as East Anglia is the most Danish of all counties, we will continue our history of it through the sad and bitter period. For—

“He burned the churches, that wicked Dane,
To light his men to their ships again.”

Mercia had been throughout the Heptarchy the great enemy and oppressor of East Anglia. On the rise of Egbert's power we gladly accepted his overlordship and protection. We were still allowed to be ruled by our native kings, but the storm of invasion so confused our affairs that it is difficult to give their succession until St. Edmund, whose name still survives in our memory as our saintly East Anglian King and Martyr, of whom a *Chronicle* states, “a most holy man, and accepted of God, “descended from the old Saxons (of Germany), a most exact “observer of the Christian faith, affable and kindly spoken to “all, eminent for the grace of humility, a liberal entertainer “of the needy, a most fostering parent to orphans and “widows, obtained the kingdom of East Anglia.” Legend has enlarged on this, and makes him the son of Alkumid, and that he was born at Nuremberg; and on Offa the King of the East Angles passing through on a pilgrimage to Rome, struck with his presence, named him his heir and gave him a ring. Offa, on his return, told his nobles of his intention as to his succession, and on his death soon after, they hastened to Saxony to bring back their adopted king. This was in the reign of Ethelwolf, King of all England, Egbert's successor. Edmund landed at Hunstanton, at the point where tradition has placed the event, and where the piety of his people erected the chapel to his memory on the cliff.

But the Danes were in the land. These are the entries in the *Chronicles* during his reign :—

“865. This year the heathen army sat down at Thanet, and made peace with the men of Kent, and the men of Kent promised them money for the peace; and during the peace and the promise of money the army stole away by night

and ravaged all Kent; then going north they came to East Anglia.

"866. This year a great heathen army came to the land of the English nation, and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and there they were housed, and the East Angles made peace with them.

"867. This year the army went from East Anglia over the north of the Humber to the city of York in Northumbria.

"870. This year the army rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford; and the same winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory, and slew the king, and subdued the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Ingwair and Ubba."

The simple words of the *Chronicle* are, they "*slew the king and subdued the land,*" great events of which we will talk of separately, and there is much to say of each. Edmund was the last of the kings of the East Anglian nation, and the people, borne down by cruel oppression, long cherished his memory. His Life, written some hundred years after, shows the gentle tenderness and sympathy with which people regarded the last of their royal race who died in defence of religion and themselves. The invaders proposed terms of peace, but St. Edmund—so his history says—would never make peace with the heathen. They bound him to a tree, and shot him with arrows, and threw his head into a neighbouring thicket. The legend of the head found guarded by a wolf, shows the strength of native feeling. Gently gathering his remains, they buried him at Hoxne, and erected a chapel of wooden beams, according to the then custom of building, over his body; but thirty years afterwards, when the land became their own again and the invader was driven out, they placed them in the Monastery

of Beodricsworth, and over them the enthusiasm of after times erected to the honor of the great king saint of East Anglia the grand and splendid minster of Bury St. Edmund's, the largest and stateliest church that the Normans built. "So they slew the king and subdued the land." On this last fact we must expend something more than legend and feeling. It was important in the settlement of the kingdom.

It was in 870 that they slew the king; in 871 the great King Alfred began his reign. Of Ingwair and Ubba we hear no more. The leader who succeeded them in command of the "army" was the great Guthrum, with whom and the King Alfred are entwined so many beautiful tales and incidents that trained our early minds. From 870 to 878 the Danes, making East Anglia their basis, pressed onward westward, this time not by way of raid and marching through, as we have formerly seen, but of settled conquest; completely scattering to hiding places the king and his army. But Alfred, gathering strength and his forces, fought the whole army at Essendon, and pursued them as far as their fortress; and the *Chronicle* gives a long account of the baptism of Guthrum, the king being his godfather, and of his "chrism losing" at Wedmore. The king greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts, "And," adds another historian, "after the murder of Edmund, gave him East Anglia."

"880. This year the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and settled in the land and apportioned it, and from this time the land was at peace," and the *Chronicle*, during the reign of Alfred (excepting a descent of pirates on East Anglia, which King Alfred stopped at the mouth of the Stour) contains no tale of any invasion, but our kingdom of East Anglia was subdued and governed by Guthrum the Dane, and peopled by his army.

Now the treaty made between King Alfred and Guthrum is extant. This is its opening and its first two articles:—

"A.D. 879. Alfred and Guthrum's peace. This is the peace that King Alfred and King Guthrum and the witan of all the English nation and all the people that are in East Anglia have all ordained and with oaths confirmed, for themselves and for their descendants, as well for born as unborn, who *reck* of God's mercy or of ours.

"1. Concerning our land boundaries: up on the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse unto Watling Street.

"2. If a man be slain we estimate all equally dear, English and Danish, at VIII half marks of pure gold, except the 'ceorl' who resides on 'Gafol' land, and their 'liesings,' they are also equally dear either at CC shillings."

Then comes thirty-eight articles solely relating to detail of government.

The boundaries of East Anglia are by the treaty enlarged. On the south was the Thames, on the east the Lea, taking in all the East Saxons, then to the great road leading from London to Chester, *Watling Street*, but how far north is not said.

The treaty in no way altered the diocese. The extended lines were those of conquest, and, as we shall see, were retained but for a short time.

The basis of the treaty was, that in East Anglia the English and the Dane, the conqueror and conquered, were to be governed by equal laws. And Guthrum never broke that treaty. He remained with us and ruled his province. His seat of government is not known, probably at Thetford, where Ingwair and Ubba passed their winter, and where the earthworks now existing may show the fortifications of his capital; but England was at peace during his life. He died in 891, ten years before Alfred, and this is the entry of his death:—

"A.D. 891. King Guthrum, to whom King Alfred, as we

before said, receiving from the holy font, gave the name of Athelstan, died this year. He dwelt with his followers in East Anglia, and first inhabited and possessed the province after the martyrdom of St. Edmund the King."

Later historians have seen in this treaty not only the greatness and goodness but the genius of King Alfred. He made a subsequent treaty with Gutred, the Danish King of Northumbria. Therefore Alfred never ruled either there or in East Anglia. He had felt the strength of the Danish force. He saw their object was now not piratical attacks, but a settlement of territory, and that to contend with them would be one continued war and misery for the people who required peace and good government. He controlled his ambition to govern the kingdom of Egbert, and rested satisfied to rule that which he could without war.

"To Alfred succeeded his son Edward the Elder, inferior "in polite learning, but in dignity, in power, as well as "glory, superior; for, as will appear, he extended the boundaries of his father's kingdom." Those are the words of a *Chronicle* commencing the year 899; for the Danes, when Guthrum died, and in the lifetime of Alfred, no longer held down by their leader, "committed their wives and their ships and their wealth to the East Angles, and went at one stretch," I am quoting the *Chronicle*, "day and night, until they arrived at Chester. And they took the cattle, and slew the men, and burned all the corn of the surrounding neighbourhood." There are many entries of this kind in Alfred's declining years, and there is scarcely that resistance of the English to their rapine that we had seen in Alfred's earlier reign. The *Chronicle* says that Athelwald the Dane, 905, having enticed the army in East Anglia to break the peace, they ravaged over all the land of Mercia. Then Edward went after them as speedily as he could gather his forces, and overrun all their lands between the Dikes (the Devil's Dyke and Balsham Dyke), and the Ouse, as far

north as the fens. And in the year following, 906, peace was concluded at Yttingford, even as King Edward ordained, as well with the East Angles as with the Northumbrians, so that he recovered his kingdom, and the Danes dwelling with the older inhabitants, all of one race and one language, soon lost their national distinction, and became merged in one people. And for one hundred years, till the rise of the Danish kings, we have little of history which can be appropriated to the East Anglian folk as divided off from the English kingdom. These hundred years were of great progress and interest to us in our national history, but I must not be diverted from the purpose of this sketch, which is simply to treat in a continuous line of the province in which we live.

If it were not without our purpose, we might trace the decline of the free owner, and his clinging round a greater neighbour for protection, altering the system of the holding of land. We should see the thane increasing in power, more dependent on the king for honours and land, gradually commencing a system of feudality which was completed at the Conquest. We should see the rise of the first Churchman that became the minister of successive kings, St. Dunstan, and commenced a line of the great ecclesiastical statesmen with whom our literature, our progress, our freedom, and our national feeling are combined, and who are traced through Anselm and Thomas-à-Becket and Langton, till they ended in Wolsey and Laud.

But in the latter years of Ethelred, the last of this line of Saxon kings, the attacks of the Danes on the line of coast and far into the interior, were renewed with a vigour and carried on with a cruelty and savageness which far outdid all previous invasions.

But the most determined to resist the Danes, the most courageous of the defenders, were our own East Anglians. This shows how in the hundred years from Guthrum the

Danish feeling was gone, and the two races had coalesced ready to resist the enemy. There is one year devoted in the *Chronicle* to the invasion of East Anglia by Swegen, I quote the whole of it. It speaks well for our courage and determination, which it is said has yet not left us.

“This year (1004) came Swegen with his fleet to Norwich, and entirely spoiled and burned the town. Then decreed Ulfcytel and the Witan of East Anglia (we had our own council) that it were better that they should purchase peace of the army before they did very much harm in the land. Then, during the truce which ought to have been between them, they stole the army from their ships, and went their way to Thetford. When Ulfcytel understood that, then sent he word to have the ships hewed to pieces; but they in whom he trusted failed to do it, and he then gathered his forces secretly, as he best might, and the army then came to Thetford within three weeks of their having before plundered Norwich, and were one day there within, and plundered and burned the town. And then, on the morrow, as they would have gone to their ships, then came Ulfcytel and his band. There were the chiefs of the East Anglians slain, and if the full force had been there, they never again have gone to their ships, inasmuch as they themselves said they had never met worse handplay among the English nation than Ulfcytel had brought to them.”

“A.D. 1010. This year after Easter (9th April) came the fore-mentioned army into East Anglia, and landed at Ipswich, and went forthwith where they understood Ulfcytel was with his forces. This was on the day called the first of the Ascension of our Lord, and then the East Angles soon fled. Then stood Cambridgeshire firmly against them. There was slain Athelstan the king’s son-in-law, and Oswig his son, and Wulfric, Leofwine’s son, and Edwy, Afic’s brother. And the Danes had the place of carnage, and there were they housed, and afterwards had dominion over

East Anglia, and they even went into the wild fens, and they destroyed men and cattle, and burned throughout the fens; and Thetford they burned and Grantabridge, and after they went southward again."

The people could bear no more. Unprotected by their own king, whose imbecility executed nothing for their safety, the inhabitants of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland would rather have order and government under their conqueror, and in the end the son of Sweyn, Canute, was king of all England. He divided the whole kingdom, irrespective of the ancient boundaries, into four earldoms, which must have been almost independent in their administrations.

The entry in the *Chronicle* is:—"1017. In this year King Cnut obtained the whole realm of the English race, and divided it into four parts, Wessex to himself, and East Anglia to *Thorkyll*, and Mercia to Eadric, and Northumbria to Irke."

It must be remembered that in the earlier and ruder periods of a nation's life the basis of government must be in small areas. The centralisation by the union of these small areas must be the work of gradual development and education in government, and though England had then been long united under one king, yet a strong local independence and self-government was still left in smaller areas, in which it was necessary the whole land should continue till the time came when they should merge, and one central power should control the whole. This has been the gradual process in all the countries which now form the kingdoms of Europe, and if we may look long into the future by the light of the experience and development of the past, as the great kingdoms have been formed by the amalgamation and centralisation of the smaller independent ones, so a time may come when it may be no longer necessary to be governed in nations, but those may go on amalgamating till

all nations are joined in and obedient to one central authority.

Canute seems to have taken a special interest in us. His countrymen had formed a settlement to the north of the mouth of the Yare, where the ending "by"—the Danish of town, and so our "bye law"—is added to nearly all the villages of the district. Near the settlement of his countrymen he founded the monastery of St. Ben't at Holme, in the wilds of a dreary marsh, far from habitation, whose superior became one of the mitred abbots of the kingdom. It has a singular interest with us, because it was never dissolved, but before the Reformation its lands given to the bishop of the diocese, who gave up his own endowment, part of which was our town² itself, to the king, and the land of the abbey of Canute's foundation was up to the last few years the land of the bishop. We have nothing special to mention of ourselves during this time. The last Earl of East Anglia was Harold, the last Saxon King, for whom and for whose name and fate we from children have felt a pride and sympathy, for the tramp of the Norman was now heard, and he was soon on our shores. That made us English feel the love and honour for these older kings of the native race such as have never been felt or expressed for the kings of the alien line that superseded them, however good they may have been. It is the tradition of liberty, the remembrance of great victories, and the love of the land of which they were dispossessed, that continues among us the affection and respect for the Saxon line.

No part of England more quickly or sincerely adopted the government of William the Conqueror than East Anglia. We find the East Angles soon in his army repressing rebellion in the west, and the whole south-east of the kingdom seemed resigned to his rule.

² King's Lynn.

It was this acquiescence which probably induced him to appoint to the earldom of the East Angles, Ralph, whose mother was a Briton, *i.e.*, Welsh, and his father an Englishman born in Norfolk. This was in 1070. The king therefore gave the son the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk, and he then took his wife to Norwich; but at the marriage feast at Ixninge in the province of Cambridge, he formed a conspiracy, in which most of the party joined, and Earl Waltheof among them. The *Chronicle* contains a long account of this affair, and how it was crushed: "and there were destroyed all the Britons who were at the bridal at Norwich. Some were blinded, some banished from the country, and some were put to shame. Thus were the traitors of King William subdued."

The East Anglian Earldom, which contained the East Anglian Kingdom, therefore kept its place after the Conquest.

The Conqueror, it is well known, continued the local institutions of the kingdom, altering them but little; indeed they are very little altered to our time. The foundation of all local government was then the meeting of the townfolk, headed by the priest. The parish afterwards adopted the boundaries of the township, the townships being the older division; and our present vestry of the parish, which represents the township, where all townspeople can meet and speak, is our oldest institution, being older than parliaments, perhaps tracing up into the forests of Germany.

But the Conqueror seldom forgave. He had trusted an Englishman to govern a province, and he had rebelled. He appointed afterwards a Norman, Roger Bigot, who governed in William's name, and with the rebel Ralph Guader or the Wader, East Anglia ceased to be. Our last ruler was the representative of the two races, Welsh and Saxon.

If we wish to know what East Anglia was at this time, we have to refer to *Domesday Book*, compiled by the Conqueror immediately on the settlement of the country. It shows us

exactly the territory included in the Norfolk and Suffolk of East Anglia. The Isle of Ely was broken off and included in Cambridgeshire. It shows the complete change of ownership of the soil.

The history of East Anglia, in its separate secular government, here ends : in its ecclesiastical, it continued under its bishops and in the old boundaries of the ancient kingdom of the East Angles, and perhaps of the Iceni, till the recent addition of the portion of Suffolk comprising the Arch-deaconry of Sudbury was given to Ely. The ecclesiastical history of the successive sees of Dunwich, Elmham, Thetford, and Norwich is of high interest. I leave it, perhaps for a future sketch.

THE WOOLING AND THE MARRIED LIFE

OF

Elizabeth Lady T'Estrange, née Isham.

BY

THE REV. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

THE family of Isham has been settled in the county of Northampton for many centuries. They have held extensive estates in that shire as far back at least as the reign of Edward III., their capital mansion continuing to be at Picheley through several generations. In the reign of Henry VIII. John Isham, fourth son of Euseby Isham of Picheley, Esq., took up his residence at Lamport, and from him the present baronet is lineally descended.

The Ishams of Lamport have for generations been unusually careful and scrupulous in preserving, not only such muniments as have to do with the history of the estates they have so long held, but all documents and papers which concern the fortunes of the family; and perhaps no mansion in England, except Hatfield, contains a larger collection of private letters than is to be found at Lamport. From this vast mass the following correspondence has been selected for publication in the pages of the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, not only because it affords some valuable illustrations of the habits and tone of feeling prevalent

among English country gentlemen in the seventeenth century, but because it has to do with the domestic history of more than one family of position and importance in East Anglia during the later years of the Commonwealth and the first five or six years of the reign of Charles II. The series of letters which follows will tell their own story; but some brief account of the principal actors in the curious little drama which is presented to us in the correspondence will not be out of place by way of introduction.

SIR JUSTINIAN ISHAM of Lamport, Bart., of these letters, was born on the 20th of January, 1610, and married as his first wife Jane, daughter of SIR JOHN GARRARD of Lamere, Herts, Bart., by whom he had a family of four daughters, and a son who died in infancy. Of these daughters two, ELIZABETH and JUDITH, were twins, born on the 27th of August, 1636; a third daughter, SUSANNA, was fifteen months younger, being born on the 29th of November, 1637. Their mother died a year after the birth of her daughter SUSANNA. Their father appears to have remained a widower for sixteen or seventeen years, and then took as his second wife VERE, daughter of THOMAS LORD LEIGH of Stonely, by whom he had a second family.

SIR JUSTINIAN had two aunts, sisters of his father, Sir John Isham, who had married two gentlemen of wealth and position before Sir Justinian was born; the one, ELIZABETH ISHAM, having been wedded to SIR ANTHONY DENTON of Tunbridge, the other, SUSANNA, being the wife of SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE of Dalham, co. Suffolk. LADY DENTON lost her first husband some time in 1622, and in the following year she married SIR PAUL D'EWES of Stowlangtoft Hall, co. Suffolk, being thus brought into her sister's neighbourhood. She retained the name which she had gained by her first husband, and continued to be called LADY DENTON to the end of her life.

When Sir Justinian married his second wife, it seems that

the three daughters already named ceased to reside at Lamport, and made their home for the most part either at Stow Hall or Dalham. When this correspondence opens SUSANNA was in her twentieth, JUDITH and ELIZABETH in their twenty-first year; that is, they were all of a marriageable age, and it was time that suitable alliances should be arranged for them. In those days young ladies were allowed but very little voice in the choice of a husband; for them to have a strong inclination for any chance suitor was regarded as indelicate, and even a *reto* in such matters was hardly permitted them. The parental authority was submitted to with unquestioning obedience, and the bridegroom whom a father had accepted was accepted by the daughter without hesitation or demur. Accordingly, when it became known that SIR JUSTINIAN was prepared to settle a very handsome portion upon each of his daughters—for in those days £5000 was a very large fortune indeed—the young ladies became at once heiresses, who would be sure not to lack wooers. SUSANNA, the younger, was the first to secure a husband, and by the intervention of JOHN, SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE's son, she was married to SIR NICHOLAS CARREW of Beddington, co. Surrey, on the 4th May, 1656. JOHN STUTEVILLE seems to have been somewhat elated at this match, and in a letter dated 1st April, 1656, he writes as follows:—

Wee can not but congratulate and must rejoyce at the bon adventure my cosin Susan is like to arrive at. Wee heare but litle of the Gentleman, he is soe young: but his family and fortunes have reached us and his rare house and gardens have made a sweet smell in o' nostrils. If their be nothing wanting in the accomplishment of it but the young ones consents, I am confident nature and opportunity will effect that o' wishes and desires shall goe along wth you for the finishing of it and o' hopes are shee will not forget us when shee comes to be seated in that earthly Paradise; for wee doe all of us very much rejoyce in her and yo' prosperitie, &c.

The younger sister being thus happily provided for, it remained to arrange a suitable alliance for the elder ones,

and simultaneously with the completion of the negotiations for the Carew marriage it would appear that proposals were commenced for finding a husband for ELIZABETH ISHAM, who, if we may judge by the number of her lovers, was a young lady of some personal attractions, in addition to those which her fortune offered. But the Carew match seems to have made Sir Justinian difficult to please; perhaps he was reluctant to bestow his elder daughter upon any gentleman of lower rank or less estate than her sister's husband, and though the young lady had no lack of aspirants for her hand, they were rejected one after another, the father always finding some reason for withholding his consent, and the daughter submitting to his decision, though it might be with sorrow and bitterness of heart. The poor young lady was kept at this humiliating game for six years, and the history of her wooing has been preserved with extraordinary care in the curious letters which still exist at Lamport. We cannot be sure that we know more than a part of what might have been told; but that which we do know presents us with a strange drama. Elizabeth Isham's suitors were all gentlemen of the Eastern Counties; three of them at least were Norfolk men, and the letters that follow may be left to tell their own tale.

Eight days after JOHN STUTEVILLE had written on the subject of the Carew match, RALPH VERNEY of Middle Claydon, co. Bucks, whose mother was a Denton, addressed a letter to SIR JUSTINIAN, in which he makes some advances on the part of an Essex gentleman, who had no small advantages in his favour. This was MR. HENRY WRIGHT,¹ only son of LAURENCE WRIGHT, M.D., of Dagenhams, co. Essex, who was Physician in Ordinary to OLIVER CROMWELL, and who had amassed a large fortune by his extensive

¹ He was created a baronet by Charles II. in 1660, married Anne, daughter of John Lord Crewe of Steene, and died in 1663, æt. 27.

practice as a medical man. The young man was of the same age as ELIZABETH ISHAM, and no objection could reasonably have been made to his proposals if they had gone on. Verney, whose letter is dated 9th April, 1656, writes as follows :—

Being casually at a place where Dr Wright was visiting a patient, amongst other discourse one told him shee heard his sonne was a sutor to one of your daughters in Suffolke, whereuppon hee acknowledged there had been a motion to that purpose and expressed a very good esteeme both of your person and family and how good a carracter my lady Spring had given him of those young Ladies, soe that I see no reason but the business might succeed, if you desire it.

The young man I doe not know, but I heare soe well of him and know soe much of his Father that I can say with confidence very few in England can have greater choyce of greater Fortunes, but money is not the thing hee cheifly aymes at in his sonnes marriage; yet where it can be spared hee expects a good proportion according to what hee settles and what that is you know soe well already that I need not now repeate it and farther the very hopes of a Future addition (hee being a very thriving man and this his only childe) in his oppinion is very considerable.

St. if you would be pleased to say your daughter shall have five thousand pounds, I am sure his sonne would soone attend you at Lamport and then if you approve him goe directly into Suffolke, &c.

He adds in a postscript :—

Some say St. Cary of Bedington is a pretender to on of your Daughters in Suffolke, if soe and that you intend to proceed with the Dr. twere well he knew it, and to which, for many reasons.

Whether Mr. Wright really was in earnest, whether Sir Justinian refused the terms, or whether the younger and not the elder sister was the object of the suitor's choice, it is impossible now to decide. Certainly this first courtship came to nothing, and the young lady was still to win.

During the course of the same summer a fresh aspirant had appeared, whose name, however, we cannot even guess at. He was probably some Suffolk or Norfolk gentleman, and ELIZABETH ISHAM writes to her father in her usual

style of dutiful respect of the overtures this gentleman had made, and the way in which they had been received.

Sir, I am obliged to a great returne of thankes with acknowledgments of the favor that you will please to thinke noe more of that which was not approv'd of by my Lady and so not rejected by me without the advice of those whose Judgment (next to yours) my will shall ever be resign'd to.

Next year another suitor appears on the stage; JAMES DE GREY of Merton, who had married ELIZABETH, daughter of SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE of Dalham, seems in some way to have helped the business on, for on the 20th July, 1657, Elizabeth Isham, writing to her father as to Lady Denton's health, adds:—

There was something spoken to her from Sir R. R. [query R. G.?] soone after you went from hence and I believe if she heares anything that is pleasing to her you shal know it. My cosen Gray³ and his wife was heere, she told mee that Sir Rob: was wisht to Doctor Rants Daughter and hee would not herken to it so I shall not wonder if hee proceeds noe further heer yet I suppose will come of civility with my Lady.

This proposal fell through as the previous ones had done, and another year passed, and the young lady was another year older.

In the following spring again a new wooer appears, and THOMAS ISHAM, SIR JUSTINIAN'S first cousin, appears to have been employed to get what information he could about the character and means of the young gentleman. The following amusing letter written from Hamerton gives us the result of his investigations:—

I have made what enquiry I coulede into the buisnes comitted to me and understande that the gent beyonde us is lately marryed privately w^{thout} his mothers knowledge to a gent of noe greate fortune and more yeares than himselfe: As for the other he is generally

³ James de Grey of Merton, Esq., married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham, died in 1655. They had an only son, William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bedingfield of Darsham, co. Suffolk, Esq.

reported to have a greate estate left him by his father, w^{ch} was lately increased by the addition of 500£ p annū by the death of an uncle ; neither have I hearde otherwise of his personall worth but w^t may be very acceptable :—only I muste not be soe unfaythfull as to conceale from you (w^{ch} it is probable you may have elsewhere hearde) that there lys a blemish upon him for a rash act the laste yeare upon one whom he met in the way upon a loaded horse, who refusinge to give him the way, he beate the man and made him forsake his horse and then tooke the horse home wth him for w^{ch} the man sued him and the laste Assizes in Rutlande had a judgment against him and recovered 40^s of him : otherwise I have not hearde but he may be a civill gent: &c.

It is hardly to be wondered at if the prudent Baronet gave this energetic young gallant but little encouragement, and we hear no more of his suit. But a few days later we are introduced to ELIZABETH ISHAM's first real lover, a man who entertained for her a strong and earnest affection, which stood the test of years of somewhat severe trial, and which was tenderly reciprocated by the lady herself, although the two young people were never destined to become man and wife.

FRANCIS GARDINER, Esq., the writer of the following letter, was lord of the manor of Tollesbury in the county of Essex, where his family had been settled for about a century. By Timothea, daughter of SIR HENRY BOKENHAM, he had a son THOMAS GARDINER, and after the death of his first wife he had married ELIZABETH, daughter of SIR JOHN GARARD of Lamer, by whom he had no issue.

It will be remembered that SIR JUSTINIAN's first wife, the mother of ELIZABETH ISHAM and of Lady Carew, was also a daughter of SIR JOHN GARARD, and it could hardly be but that Mrs. Gardiner would feel special interest in her sister's daughter, and that ELIZABETH ISHAM would be a frequent visitor at her aunt's house at Tollesbury. Mr. Gardiner's son, THOMAS GARDINER, had married early to JANE, daughter of SIR ROBERT KEMPE of Spain's Hall, Finchingfield, co. Essex, but she unhappily died on the

10th October, 1654, leaving him a widower without offspring. More than three years had passed since his bereavement. It is pretty certain that during that time he must have met ELIZABETH ISHAM frequently. The following correspondence needs no comment:—

Sr,

After it had pleased God to bereaue my son of y^e comfort and content he enjoyed in his own home as a diversion of sad thought he determined to spend a few weekes among his kindred and allies in Suff: their neighborhood to Stow gave y^e opportunity of seeing yor daughter M^{rs}. Elizabeth Isham and his eye soon affected his heart, w^{ch} prompted both his toung and hand to make knowne how much of his happines he conceived depending on her good acceptance of his devoted service. This I presume as it was meet you had notice of and of his slow prosecucon since the severall successive grounds of w^{ch} himself is ready to acquaint you with, who now waits on you to crave your favour, yf with yor good leave he may freely make his addresses and endeavour the obtaining from yor daughter reciprocally affection.

The estate may be looked on as beneath hir fortune yet being free from jointure, porcions, or debts, it is such as they may live very comfortably with and what shall reasonably and proporcionably be required will be readily assented unto by

Sr. Yor most humble servant

Mar. 29th. 58.

Fran. Gardiner.

The draft of an answer is written on this letter thus:—

Sr,

I acknowledge y^r kind respects wth y^r sons for me and my family in what you are now pleased to acquaint me wth and shall very seriously consider how I may returne answer for so great a kindness but am at present (some few hours since y^r sons coming) ordered amongst divers other gents of these parts to be suddenly at Northampton town under a gaurd (?) of soldiers—not yet knowing anything of the business or occasion so sone as please God I may befor you shall by my brother Garrard hear further from me and be pleased to receive (?) an order (?) of y^r ³

³ This letter must have been written about three weeks before the appointment of the “High Court of Justice,” on the 27th of April, 1658.

In less than a month, viz., on the 26th of April, the lady writes to her father as follows :—

The gentleman that came to Lamport wth my uncle Garrad was here the day before I had your letter. but it was only to give an account of your health and restraint, he had noe incoragement from mee as to his business neither did hee I believe expect any only hinted that he was not quite rejected by you though but weake hopes as yet and should receive the result from my uncle. For my inclination it shall never bee for him nor noe man else without you first approve of the person and be satisfied in those things that you inquire into. Of all things acted heere below this affaire is to be done wth greatest circumspection because being once done it cannot be amended. I have had an acquaintance of him this 3 or 4 yeares and doe think as every one saies of him that he is well inclined and free from all the vices that doe raigne in most young men in this age. I shall like this well in any and esteeme it above wealth or honor, yet I must desire a competency to live upon and if the other may be had into the bargain I shall not refuse that which our sex love so well. His affection I confess has bin of some continuance and he has proffessed to divers that it is more than ordinary, upon what score I know not therefore I will not ascribe to much value to it, for I see by others there is nothing more subject to change. I can freely declare to you as I have to some who has spoke for him that I have no aversion nor consent to him more than what you shall thinke fit. In this and all things else it will be my greatest happines ever to approve my selfe

Sir, Your most obedient Daughter

Elizabeth Isham.

Next we get a letter from William Garrard, dated from London, on the 5th May, 1658, in which occurs :—

Mr. Gardner is now in towne. I was tould by himselfe and others that his estate is betweene eight and nine hundred per anum it lieth all together in Essex and much of it is in old rents not improved.

Mr. Gardiner's suit does not seem to have found much favour in the eyes of Sir Justinian, for we hear no more of it for upwards of a year, and in the meanwhile another proposal is made. It is found in a letter from Sir Thomas Dayrell, dated the 26th June, 1659.

It is almost a yeare since I designed a nephew of my cosen Which: to be a servant to one of your deserving daughters but y^e mother and y^e other friends were seeking great matters heer in towne in w^h they have been disapoynted, so y^t y^e last weeke I remembered my cosen agayne

The fortune not much inferiour to Mr. Cutts⁴ if truly represented unto you but largely compensated on y^e person and partes. M^r. Cutts hath many pretences but as I heer not yet engaged, my interest was ever very small in that family even when we were very neer neighbours for reasons I may hereafter acquaynt you, but eyther in y^e or anythyng else I can find, &c., &c.

In a foot note is an illegible memorandum—"S^r. John Walpole in ye Remb^r to me y^r ser^t." ⁵

On the 11th November, 1660, Judith Isham writes about her own marriage, and while doing so, makes the following touching appeal on her sister's behalf :—

I do humbly beg and implore your pardon for my sister who merrited your just displeasure in not discovering her affection to S^r. Thom: Gard: sooner, and if I may (without presumption) speake somthinge in her behalfe (though not wholly to excuse her) she did strive often and beg of God that she might overcome and vanquish that passion and banish it from her heart and had obtained so much victory that if any civill person agreeable to her friends good liking had been tendred she had accepted it and bin obedient, before his father died, since that she had hopes he might give what sattisfaction he possible could concerning his estate but if he cannot do it she must submit her will to God's will be patient and resigned, for she knowes she ought not nor did she ever thinke of disposing her selfe wthout your consent and approbation.

Sir Thomas Gardiner himself writes to the father on the 20th December, as follows :—

⁴ Possibly another suitor.

⁵ Can this be the name of a new admirer? Hardly. Sir John Walpole of Dunston, co. Lincoln, Knt., was Standard Bearer to Charles I. and Charles II. He is described as a man "of good parts, but maddish and a Papist." He died unmarried in 1672, but as he was baptized in July, 1612, he must have been old enough to be Elizabeth Isham's father in 1660.

S^r,

So soone as I came to towne I made it my business to remove the most visible present obstruction to that treatie which I have so long with so ardent a desire and with such constant care endeavoured that it might receive a favourable beginning from your hand.

I have Sir applied my selfe to severall merchants, in particular to S^r Rob^t Abdy who, contrary to my expectation, refuseth to purchase the whole estate but would willingly buy two or three farmes that ly neere him which without any great addition may I think be enough for a seate, and 5 or 600£ per an. remaine entire viz. the mannor and that part which is judg'd to be improvable. If it might be thus the damage which would probably attend the hasty sale of so much together may certainly be avoided and a convenient seat the more readily found out.

This S^r I onely mention to you as my opinion without using any argument to incline you to be of the same minde, reserving to my selfe so perfect and willing a submission y^t in case you shall upon second thoughts still conceive 'twill be better to have it otherwise I shall then freely make it my owne choise and begin immediately to treat with some other person. What disadvantage or difficulty soever I may meet with in y^e putting of my estate will be of no consideration to me if Sir I may but give you satisfaction in it, so true and cordiall an affection I have for your daughter, so real and just an honor for your selfe, that it forceth me already to give you the same respect which 'eere long I hope my duty will oblige me to pay you.

He adds a postscript:—

Favour me I beseech you Sir with y^t presentment of my humble service to your truly noble Lady and to your daughter to whom I would have done it myselfe but y^t I believe she would be unwilling to receive it without your express allowance first obtained, which libertie I doe therefore now heartily beg at your hand.

The draft, rather illegible, of a reply is written on the back of this:—

S^r,

My chiefest answer to what you are pleased to write will be but a repetition of what I have formerly declared that it shall be no desire from me that you sell all or any part of yr Land in Essex
.....

This I have openly professed from the beginning . . . think it somewhat strange that any application should be further made especially

w^out my privity, and I being in London last somer and often in yr eye and solicited for my daughter from other of my acquaintance and not at all by yourselfe then, though I have reason to believe she was (so) and though my Lady, as I presume, Denton (?) might be partly acquainted with it, it is more than she then thought fitt either to owne or countenance I take myself to be most of any living concerned in her and this was the reason that I acquainted your selfe when last . . . that there was a mistake in makeinge y^r application, who might w^t less inconvenience to yo^r selfe (or any else) have knoweing my mind, by letter then, w^{ch} you desire now. For yr writing to my daughter or making any further application to her, I conceive it very improper till there be a greater likelihood of proceeding, taking (upon ?) myselfe in y^e mean tyme to be at libertie to dispose of her, as thinking it unreasonable to depend upon such as I now perceive yr alteration of yr estate may put me upon.

If you have brought any inconvenience upon y^rselfe by not ordering this business aright (it) is much against the desire of S^r [yours &c.]

Whether or not the receipt of this somewhat chilly letter made the lover ill I cannot say, but that he was ill soon after appears clearly enough from the following letter the young lady wrote to her father :—

S^r,

At my return from my cosen Greys I found your letter at Stow and heard of the affliction it pleased God to lay upon Sir T. G. I here since he is better than he was and in a very hopefull way of recovery. I am sure he will endeavour all meanes possible to satisfie you as to estate, but the selling much of it will be such an apparent disadvantage, because they look upon him as necessitated to doe it, that my Lady Denton and divers others my good friends think it most reasonable if you please to give way to it, that he part with only so much at present as may buy a healthfull seat at another place is now my humble request, the encouragement I receive from your indulgence to mee and kind consideration that an affection is the principle in this business gives me hopes of obtaining this favour for which I shall remaine your gratefull debtour as I am by nature, Your obliged Daughter, Elizabeth Isham

Stow Jan. N. 25

Very shortly afterwards the father seems to have gone to London, staying "at the Lady Montague's house near the Turnstile at the east end of Henry the 7th Chappell at Westminster." He seems to have stopped there all the summer. One letter of Lady Long—a very old correspondent—dated the 19th July, seems to hint that more matrimonial schemes had been in the wind, but failed. Her letter ends thus: "But all this amounts not to the destroying my designs on your daughter Mol to whom pray, &c."

At the end of the autumn (3rd October, 1661) the young lady writes from Stow to her father:—

I am at this time perfectly well I thanke God and hope I shall continue so and can declare so much for myselfe, as I have ever done, that I am free as to ingagement to any man and shall incline to any of sutable yeares approved goodness and civill behaviour, but was ever and am still better pleased w^t this condition I am in then to marry any to young for me especially 6 years, and though my sister and some others wiser than myselfe may dispense w^t this objection, and possibly might have done well, caried all things hansomely in the world, yet I confess my dissability besides my aversness to rule any man or his estate and desire a man of wisdom and experience w^{ch} is so necessary for mee if I change my quiet single life to that of more cares and business. I did thus far thinke S^r Tho: Gar: sutable to mee and his long professed affection to mee did gaine so much that I did esteeme him above others for that, but the proposals you made to him was so much to his disadvantage and he could not possibly satisfie you, hee may seeke elsewhere. For all anything has bin done here if I have comitted or done anything to displease you, it was my error, but I did never intend to persist in any disobedience but hope ever to approve myselfe S^r your most obedien^t Daughter Elizabeth Isham.

Less than three weeks after (21st October, 1661) she writes again:—

I here that S^r Thom. Gardiner is recovered of a hurt in his leg and still continues the affection he has so long profest and will use all endeavors to satisfie you and gaine your consent, I doe humbly beg your pardon that my inclination was more for him than your likeing, and cannot but confesse now (that) I consider him constant, I doe

preferre him before all others and humbly beg you will not reject his sute w^{ch} he will address by the mediation of a friend if with him I may have your blessing and kind affection, I will not desire greater earthly Happiness (whatever my portion bee) but without your favor I cannot reckon anything a contentment. I once more beg your pardon for these desires and shall implore a divine assistance in so great a business. How ever you determine of it I will performe my duty in a patient submission and ever shall beseech you to owne me for S^r your &c.

This extremely touching letter had apparently no effect on the father, and it was reserved for Lady Spring to find the eventual husband. She introduces her kinsman in the following letter, which she wrote on the 5th April, 1662, to John Stuteville.

The "friend" was Sir NICHOLAS LE STRANGE of Hunstanton, Bart. He had married MARY, daughter of JOHN COKE of Holkham, co. Norfolk, Esq., who had recently died in childbed, leaving him with one son, NICHOLAS, who was his successor in the baronetcy, and who was baptized on the 10th December, 1661. Sir Nicholas had been a widower less than four months when these proposals were first made.

Lady Spring was the only daughter of Sir Hamon Le Strange of Hunstanton, by Alice, daughter and coheir of Richard Stubbe, Esq., of Sedgford; she was therefore aunt to the young baronet, whose cause she pleads so warmly. She married, on the 3rd November, 1636, Sir William Spring of Pakenham, co. Suffolk, Bart., by whom she had a family of six children. Her portrait, with that of her husband, is now at Hunstanton Hall. She survived her husband twenty-four years, and died 21st March, 1678-9. She was buried at Pakenham, where there is a monument to her memory.

April 5, 1662.

S^r,

I have ever found that kindness and respect from the family of Stow as I was bound in gratitude to wish well to it, and that

vertuous paire of sisters have ever had that high esteeme from mee as I have often wisht them in a nearer relation than only vicinity. There is now a freind of mine who I am confident would make a very good husband for one of them if eyther be free: he is a Baronet and hath at least £1200 a year present: 400 more in reversion: only £3000 debt which is most for provision for yonger brothers. He hath a plentiful stocke and a house well furnisht, and now I shall not need name him to you tis not long since he waited on you at Stow and had a view of the Lady w^{ch} wth the Character I was able to give of her did highly satisfy him. S^r I confesse this motion lookes unseasonable in a time of soe much sadnes^e in which I assure you I am deeply concern'd and should have way'd it till a better time but the Importunity of my freind who hath been a great journey on purpose puts mee upon a necessity to moove it.

S^r if this Lady or the other be disengaged he will thinke himselfe very happy might he have any hopes of a favourable reception and I assure you did I not wish as well to them as my friend I should never appeare in it, but I know him to be a very good natur'd man and noe way vicious.

Please to favour mee with a return and to let mee know the Lady's portion if there be any hope for him.

S^r I am forced to give you the trouble of reading this paper having noe other meanes to impart the business and I hope a womans name at the bottom will be a sufficient excuse.

S^r your very reall friend

E. Spring.

A week or so later the daughter wrote thus to her father :—

S^r,

I praise God my Lady is a little better than she was last weeke and can speake some few words w^{ch} wee can understand, &c.

I shall presume to acquaint you with what was proposed by my Lady Spring as you may perceiue in this letter to my cosen Stuteville, the Gentleman is her owne nephew S^r Nicholas Strange a widdower, he had 3 children by his wife too of them are dead but I thinke the last son his wife died off is alive though my Lady does not mention him. He is of good repute in his countrie and counted a good husband

* Lady Denton appears to have had a stroke of paralysis a few days before this letter was written.

for his estate. My Lady Grey of whom I made inquirie says he has 7 hundred pound a yeare that is not settled upon his eldest son and that he has so much money in his hands of his father in lawes as brings him in 5 hundred pounds a yeare the use being given to him; the principle to grandchildren when they come of age. My Lady Grey has often told mee, next to her owne daughters she did not concerne her selfe for any so much as my sister and I, and I know she will give mee a certaine account with her opinion which is that this offer is worthy consideration. The family of the Stranges is not unknowne to you. I could only desire my cosen Stuteville at that present to returne a letter of my humble thanks for her great civility and well wishes to us both and that you should be made acquainted with this business very speedily: My cosen Stuteville presents his service to you. My sister Judith came well to us last Wedensdy night we both desire our duties to your selfe and my Lady.

I am Sr,

Your obedient Daughter

Stow, April }
y^e 13th 1662. }

Elizabeth Isham.

The writer of the following letter was a first cousin of SIR JUSTINIAN's, being the only son of SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE of Dalham, by his second wife, SUSANNA ISHAM (see p. 243). At his father's death, in July, 1631, Dalham passed to an elder brother by a previous marriage, THOMAS STUTEVILLE, Esq.; and JOHN STUTEVILLE thereupon removed to Stow-Langtoft to take upon himself the management of Lady DENTON's estate, she having been again left a widow some months previously by the death of SIR PAUL D'EWES.

Honoured Sr,

I received yor^e of the 17th of April for w^{ch} I give you many thanks and could not till now render you any account concerning the businesse promooted by the La: Spring. Yesterday my cosin Tho: Isham and my selfe were to wayte upon S^r Nicholas at the La: Spring's house, where wee acquainted him wth what respectfull entertainment you received that motion and what an high esteem and great value you ever had for that family and what portion you would bee willing to give and upon what termes: and did desire to know of him what estate hee had free to settle upon Joynture and upon future Issue.

Hee tels that besides what is settled already, hee hath 600^l p an^d absolutely free and 180^l p an^d : more charged with 3000^l to his Brothers and wth 20^l p an^d : during his mothers life. Wee did further desire a particular of his whole estate, and that hee would set downe what was free and what settled, hee tells us that hee hath one ready drawne at home, w^{ch} upon his returne the next weeke hee will send over to my La: Springs for yo^r perusall. Wherefore I thinke (if you bee willing that it shall proceed upon these termes) that it will bee very convenient (if yo^r affayres will permit) that you come into Suff., where you may better discover yo^r mind in person than by way of letter. The Gentleman's Character is fayre from all hands, and there is a very considerable estate in possession, besides that in reversion, and a great possibility that the whole may descend to second issue. My lady (I thanke God) growes not worse, that wee can perceive, but rather better, and soe I hope may (notwithstanding hir great age) continue a while wth us to o^r further comfort. I adde noe more but the tender of all o^r due respects of duty and service, w^{ch} I desire you favourably to receive from the hands of S^r

Yo^r very devoted serv^t and most affectionate kinsman

John Stuteville.

May 7th 1662.

May 16, 1662.

S^r,

I received this Particular ¹ from S^r Nicholas w^{ch} I am ordered to convey speedily to your hand and I hope upon view you will find an honest man is better then his word, and, because he sent it mee, I send you a more punctuall account under my Mothers owne hand; which may serve to confirme what he gives in: In an abbreviate S^r Nich: presents his humble service to the Ladys and yo^r selfe and hopes S^r Justinian will receive that satisfaction in this particular, as he will give him leave to wait upon him; which he is very ready to doe when he may know the time and place and shall esteeme it a very great honour and happines if he may be thought worthy of such an Alliance. S^r if you have received anything of hopes from him in the meane time it will be very welcome news to S^r Nich^l and if you please to entrust it with me it shall be very carefully convey'd.

Your most assured freind

Elizabeth Spring.

[Endorsed] These For her very worthy freind
John Stuteville at Stow.

¹ The enclosure has disappeared.

May 28, 1662.

Honoured S^r,

About 3 weekes since I directed a letter to you at London to bee conveyed by M^r Garrard, but because I heare nothing of the receipt of it I feare the miscarriage thereof, w^{ch} troubles mee the more, because it was of some concernement. And now whither to shoote an other shaft after the former, I well know not. I hope (the Parliament being adjourned^s) this messenger may find you at Lamport, where perhaps you may have heard before this time by my cos: Tho: Isham, how farre wee proceeded (at his being in Suff.) in that businesse propounded by the Lady Spring; as that we both wayted upon the Baronet at the Lady Spring's house, where wee acquainted him wth what respectfull entertainment you received that motion and what a great value you ever had for that family and what portion you would be willing to give and upon what termes and did desire him to discover what estate he had left free to settle for joynture and upon future issue: hee then told us, that besides that already settled, hee hath 600^l p ann: free and 180^l p ann^u more charged wth 3000 to two of his Brothers and wth 20^l p ann. during his mothers life: thus farre wee had gone before my cos: Tho: Isham left us; since w^{ch} time hee hath according to his promise sent us a particular of his whole estate, as well in possession as reversion, and what is setled and what free: wherein hee makes appeare that his estate is and wilbee above 1900^l p ann^u, soe much is hee better than his word, onely there is some w^{ch} you will find to bee but Lease lands. S^r, if you bee willing that it shall proceed upon these termes, it will be worth yor Journey into Suff: where S^r Nicholas upon reasonable notice wilbee ready to give you a meeting, and you may treate in person better than by way of letter. I gave you in the last a short character of the gentleman, w^{ch} is rendred from all hands very fayrely as that hee is a person very Civill and much obliging, much addicted to the life that his ancestors led of keeping up his chiefe mansion house by good hospitality and yet desires not to doe it by wrong and oppression of his tenants. My Lady (I thanke God) lies still, &c., &c.

Yor humble serv^t and unworthy kinsman

John Stuteville.

On the fly-sheet of this letter, in a different handwriting,

^s The first Parliament of Charles II. was adjourned after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, on 19th May, 1662.

probably a copy of a memorandum by Sir Nicholas, as it is not in his hand :—

The estate in my owne Possession.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The mannor of Hunstanton	0300	00	02
The mañor of Great Ringstead	0116	14	00
The mannor of North Hall	0057	19	01
Part of the manor of Caly	0167	13	04 ob.
Part of Heachā mañor w ^t y ^e Tith of y ^e flock and y ^e parsonage	0183	15	02 ob.
The mañor of Barret Ringsted	0141	02	01 ob.
The mañor af East Hall and West Hall and Strange mañor in Sedgford all amounting w ^t y ^e Parsonage to	0442	16	08
Hunstanton Parsonage	0050	00	00
	Sū 1460 00 07 ob.		

The Estate in jointure of y^e Lady Ann Lestrage

my mother The mannor of Gressenhall ..	0244	07	0
Part of the manor of Heachā	0195	05	10
Part of the manor of Caly	0029	00	00
	S 0467 13 00 1460 00 07 ob.		

Besides y^e profitts of Courts my whole estate is

Sū total 1927 13 07 ob.

The Estate entayled upon my Heirs male

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The manor of Hunstantō	0300	00	02
The manor of Great Ringstead	0116	14	00
Mañor of North hall	0057	19	01
Manor of Heachā	0392	15	08 ob.
Part of the manor of Caly	0070	10	05
Manor of Gressenhall	0243	07	02
	Sū 1181 06 06 ob.		

The Estate not entayled.

The manor of Barret Rinstead morgagd for 1000 ^{li} ..	0141	02	01 ob.
Part of the mañor of Caly tied for y ^e payment of 2000 ^{li} to my brother John Lestr. . .	0126	02	11 ob.
Stranges mañor in Sidgford about	0100	00	00

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The mañor of Easthall and Westhall in Sidgford a lease of y ^e Deane and Chapter of Norwich with y ^e Parsonage ⁹	0342	16	08
The Parsonage of Hunstanton a Lease of y ^e Bishop of Ely ¹	0050	00	00
	Sū 0760 01 09		

Sept: 1, 1662.

Honoured Sr,

Having now rested above a weeke since o^r returne and S^r Nich: being gone home as I have more leisure, soe I think it very expedient to direct this missive to you as well as to express o^r gratefull acknowledgement of that bountifull and noble traictment wee receive from you, as to give you a short account of o^r health and state of affayres with us. You may be pleased to receive that at o^r return wee found my Lady in the same Condition for health wherein wee left her or rather (as wee can perceive) still tending toward the better, able to come downe and accompany the generation of the D'ewes's who dined here the last weeke: I am sure shee is not so crazed as the Lady Bowes, who cannot walk y^e length of a room wthout hir two supporters. The rest of o^r family (I thank God) enjoy their health still, although not farre from us many have beene taken away and some are still languishing of feavers.

Since o^r returne wee sent for o^r counsell againe who hath perused the Deeds, and finds the unsettled estate (as was given in) to bee cleare upon the discharge of y^e 3000^{li}: the Deeds are now in his hands, where he will looke them over againe wth more deliberation, and p^rpare a draught for the joyncture and setlem^t according to his instructions. Hee saith wee must strictly observe the authority that is given us for y^e 300^{li} p^r añ for joyncture out of the former setlem^t and bee sure not to exceede it, least wee make all void: for the assignem^t of that, wee have left it to S^r Nich: himselfe, whose Steward knowes best, whereto assigne a convenient joyncture house wth an estate about it, w^{ch} may not exceede the 300^{li} p^r an, and for the other 50^{li} p^r an (w^{ch} is the residue of hir joyncture to bee taken out of the unsetled estate) o^r counsel thinkes it best to bee secured by way of annuity

Yo^r very humble serv^t and most affectionate kinsman,

John Stuteville.

⁹ This lease ended in 1736, so that was seventy-four years in it not yet expired.

¹ This Lease renewed in 1661 for three lives.

Stow, Octo. the 7th, 1662.

S^r,

I had sent these writings before, But M^r Maltwood is soe full of imployment and has not beene well that I could not get them till now. S^r Nicolas came hether yesterday and is extreame desirous to marrie next weeke because he must goe up to London at the tearme. My cosen Stuteville saith all things may be finished and ingrossed afterwards. M^r Maltwood did object the smallness of the rents and the watermill for joynter but my cosen Thom. Isham who is now here saith by reason it is all in a towne it will be well: but S^r Nicolas if you doe not like it, will be content it should be taken in greater farmes. My Lady is resonable well I thanke God and would be glad to see you here next weeke if your ocasions will give you leave to take a jorny. I shall not goe from hence all this winter. S^r Nicolas has often ocasions at London w^{ch} makes him willing to lett me be still wth my Lady who is well pleased wth it. She tenders her respects to you and my Lady Isham. S^r Nic. and cos. Stu. present there service my sister's duty and mine presented to your selfe and my Lady.

I am S^r your obedient Daughter

Eliza. Isham.

The marriage was solemnized next week, according to Sir Nicholas' wish, and the following letter explains the terms of the settlement.

Octob. 16, 1662.

Worthy S^r,

Upon Tuesday the 14th of this month was consummated the marriage betweene S^r Nich: and yo^r daughter; after they both had sealed another copy of yo^r articles and yo^r daughter alone had sealed and delivered two Releases, one to yo^r selfe, the other to M^r Greene and mee. The Articles differ not from yo^r excepting the 4th and the last; In the 4th the trust is onely explained according to the sence in yo^r letter and the last is restrained wth this exception included wthin the following parenthesis viz. that the land to bee assured shall bee freed and discharged by y^e said S^r Nich: of all charges and incumbrances (the leases now in being under a valuable rent made knowne to the agents of the said Elizabeth the several annuities issuing out of the lands to the younger Brothers of the said S^r Nich: not exceeding 40^{li} p ann: the rents goeing out of y^e premises to the Bish^p of Ely and Deane. and Chapter of Norwich and the rents and

services from henceforth to grow due to the Chiefe Lord or Lords of the fees of the said premises onely excepted and foreprized) and these exceptions M^r Greene himselfe might have observed in the draught sent and soe have inserted them into that Article, but because he did not M^r Malteward thought fit to put it in, meerely to secure S^r Nich : upon this covenant and not for any thing besides, for the rents hold good as they were given in notwithstanding these charges excepting onely the younger Brothers annuities wth are but for their lives. The marriage was hastened, because my Cos : Tho : Isham could not well make any longer stay and S^r Nich : himselfe is for London before the Terme. Neither can the Deed bee well passed till M^r Go : Strange gives up his right in the lands charged wth his 2000^{li} and that must be by a Reconveiance from him to S^r Nich : therefore there must be great care had of getting his discharge, otherwise the foundation of the settlement for that part may bee shaken. M^r Malteward heth beene as carefull as is possible in this businesse and his advice hath beene followed in everything, wherein I hope wee have not exceeded o^r Comission nor done anything but what may give you full satisfaction. My humble service I desire may bee accepted by yo^rselfe and yo^r honourable Lady whose I am wholly devoted In all respectfull observance

John Stuteville.

The next two letters are perhaps the earliest ones written by the married pair to the bride's father.

S^r,

Although I continue my wonted course of writing yet I shall at this time change the subject (as I have done my condition) but it is noe new thing, but as old as my selfe, your love and care of mee, which alwise obliges mee to pay the due tribute of my humble thanks, now more especially I shall acknowledge your kindness principally respecting my satisfaction in this great affaire of my life which I hope will be happy all my life.

S^r Nicolas presents his duty to you, my sister and selfe tender our duty and service to your selfe and my Lady. I shall ever pray for your health and Happiness whilst I am, S^r,

Your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrange.

October y^e 16th, 1662.

Stowlangtoft, Nov. 10th, 62.Honoured S^r,

It is now high time y^t I should make an acknowledgement of all those inestimable favours you have beene pleased to conferr upon soe undeserving a person as myselfe. And in especiall manner for y^t great blessing I soe lately enjoyed (though partly from heaven as I must owne it) from y^selfe in vouchsafing mee soe much honour as to admit mee to be one of your family in the bestowing your daughter upon soe meane a subject as my selfe. And now S^r as I am bound in duty to doe, I humbly beg y^r blessing and my Lady Ishams for us both and I beg your pardon S^r for my long and rude silence. Truly I confess I have justly deserved to be branded with y^r censure of ingratitude but I hope my urgent occasions will plead my excuse having beene so unfortunate (I may say itt) as soone as I was marryed to be called away to London and ever since, scarce time to rest anywhere, And God willing I shall be there againe this weeke, where my stay will be for a time by reason of y^r great tryall depending betweene my bro: Coke and myselfe. I understand S^r you were in expectation to heare from me concerning y^r money payable to my brother Rokeby but really S^r y^r enjoyment of a good wife and soe sudden a multiplicity of business w^{ch} involved me put away all such thoughts as minerall [?] vanities. Truly had I not had these divertisements I think it would have showne a great deal of indiscretion in mee immediately to forget y^t heavenly happiness I enjoyed and thinke of earthly drosse. However now I shall give you some satisfaction as to the business. S^r when I was last in London I spake wth my bro: Rokeby² who is now in London and continueth there a time,

² "My brother Rokeby" of this letter was Alexander, the elder son of Sir William Rokeby of Skiers in Yorkshire, Bart. He married Margaret, daughter of John Coke of Holkham, co. Norfolk, Esq., a younger sister of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's first wife. Mr. Coke, who was fourth son of the great Sir Edward Coke, died in 1661, and the following letter (from the archives of Hunstanton Hall) throws some light upon the subject of the lawsuit in which Sir Nicholas was at this time engaged. The writer was Sir Francis Cobb of Otteringham in Holderness, co. Ebor., Knt., whose son and heir, Sir William Cobb, Knt., married Winifred, another daughter of Mr. Coke, and by her had a son, Francis, who died young, and was probably the "grandson" mentioned in the letter.

S^r Nicholas Lestrange.

I am informed that M^r Cole and you either haue Agreed, or are uppon Agreeing, about the great contests that haue growne betwixt the will, and

he told me he should be ready to take itt about y^r middle of December, soe as I shall be ready to observe your commands therein whilst I am in London or my bro : will be there to receive itt from such person as you shall appoint ther to deliver up the writing of morgage he now hath. If you please S^r to direct a letter to mee to be left at my uncle Garrets I shall receive itt. Thus wth o^r dutys to your selfe and my Lady Isham and loves to o^r brothers and sisters I once more crave a blessing on him who is ever ready to manifest himselfe to be Dum spiritus hos regit Artus.

S^r your ever highly honouring sonne in law

Nich : L'estrange.

The following draft of a reply to Sir Nicholas is on the fly-leaf of his letter.

S^r Nicholas,

Y^r expression of so much content in yo^r late choice makes me now Congratulate what I before did most heartily wish you. As a

pretended deede to destroy that will of old M^r. Cokes, whoe left A great trust uppon you for the good of his grand children, wherein I hope you will not faile, but uppon all occations vindicate their rights, as you are obliged by honour, and conscience; and as I am concerned for the good of my grand childe, I shall not feare any man's person, or fortune, so far as to make me for beare A just legall and faire prosecution for the obtaining of what her grandfather Coke hath giuen her by his will, wherein I doubt not (though all other persons concerned leave me) to evince to the world either by law or in parliament that the will ought to stand. Some further steps to truth I haue aduanced since I saw you, and hope to discouer it clerely, to M^r. Watts his shame, therefor S^r in pursuance of my resolution to bring this busines once more to a triall, I send A subpena to yow, and have for my grande childe good directed A bill that yow may not part with any writings that was at the last triall, or that is otherwaies in your custodie concerning that affaire, and S^r though I be mutch your servant, yet if you doe any thing while I live to the prewdigh (P prejudice) of my granchilde committed to y^r care by the Trust of old M^r. Coke reposed in yow, I shall use my utmost Interest and endeavors she may be repaired by you and your fortune, but I hope you will doe no thing contrary to y^r trust, or to her prewdish and in that confidence I rest

S^r

Your humble

Seruent

The 3^d of decembr

1663.

(Signed)

ffr Cobb.

good wife is the gift of God and certainly one of y^r best gifts God can give a man upon earth so we find to whō she is given as a portion. And so I wish you Both much joy and comfort one of another. Beseeching God almighty to Bless you Both.

M^r Theod : Greene my Attorney at Clements Inn can acquaint you when to receive 1000^l so soone as you please and whilst he is in towne who may be witness to y^r performance of it, as also to y^r taking in y^r mortgage.

Stow, May the 4th, 1663.

S,

this weeke I received yours from my sister Carew with the good newes of my Lady Isham's safe delivery. My Lady Denton is in the same condition, she usually stirs little out of her chamber, she continues her prayers for you and all yours. [She] desires her kind saluts may bee tendred to you and my Lady. I thanke God I enjoy my health in so great a measure as is consistant with one in my condition and I am to goe this weeke wth S^r Nicholas to his owne house, I was lately to waite upon the Countess of Diser^s and S^r Lionell was here wth her this day, she is very pleasant and wishes heartily she could see you and her uncle Robert Tolmach who hath made a new discovery of a countrie about the Centre of the world and savags w^t fine women and great riches are in Pantanomia. But the best discovery is 900 pound by the Death of his wife w^{ch} furnishes him for inteligence from this place.

My Lady Diser has a son lately borne who she intends shall be a prince there and she hopes one of yours may accompany him. S^r Nicholas my sister and selfe present our dutys to your selfe and my Lady Isham.

I am S^r your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'Estrange.

[Sir Nicholas L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham. The quaint punctuation is retained.]

^s Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William, first Earl of Dysart, at whose death she became Countess of Dysart. She married Sir Lionel Tollemache, of Helmingham, co. Suffolk, Bart., and secondly, to John, Duke of Lauderdale.

London, July y^e 11th, 1663.

Honoured Sir,

You may justly wonder ; at the suddainesse of these lines attending you, But, I am sure ; they cannot be with you to soone when, I consider, how unhappy I was in that, I did not performe that duty I ought to have done before your departure out of towne truly I was 3 times at your lodging and you were not within and I was severall times in Wesminster, but could not light on you S^r I beg your pardon, and earnestly desire you not to misinterpret any thing, as to thinke there was a willing neglect in mee. Ingratitude is a thing w^{ch} I utterly abhorre, and I should be unpardonable if I were guilty of y^e crime especially towards a person soe nearly concerned as your selfe S^r I should have spoken to you concerning y^e 500^l now due M^r Greene, y^r attorney, seemeth to know nothing of y^r minde my request therefore is (S^r, that you will be pleased to order the payment thereof because I shall be out of towne next weeke) to M^r Charles Everard at y^e starre in Lombard Street, and a receipt to my use will be sufficient at present, and if afterwards you shall require one from mee I shall willingly give one. At p^rsent I beg y^r blessing for mee and mine and Rest

S^r your truly honouring Sonne : in : Law

Nich : L'Estrange.

[John Stuteville, Esq., to Sir Justinian Isham.]

August 13th, 1663.

Honoured S^r,

S^r Nicholas L'Estrange tels mee that hee receiued a letter lately from M^r. Greene, wherein hee intimates to him, that there hath laine 500^l ready for him a good while since at London (being part of his Ladyes portion) and that hee might haue receiued it before now, but that there was some scruple as yet remayning, whither S^r Nich. had sealed the conveyances for his Ladyes Joynture, and estate upon issue according to the couenants. Truly S^r, this hath beene soe long agoe effected, and immediately certified by the Lady Strange hir selfe, who was chiefly interested in it, that (if that letter came to yo^r hands) wee much wonder any scruple can bee made of it: therefore fearing the miscarriage of it, I thought it concerned mee (as well to vindicate S^r Nich : his honor, as to giue an account of that trust imposed upon mee) to assure you that upon the seaventh of february last, I was a witnesse to the cancelling of Mr. John L'estrange's

morgage by way of ffeoffm^t, and of S^r Nich : his reassurance by Lease for 1000 yeares; whereby (the enheritance being wholly in him) hee was enabled afterwards to passe (as hee did) those two grand conveyances of joynture and estate upon issue, &c. the latter of them yet still subject to the morgage of a 1000 yeares for the paym^t of 2000^{li} to his Brother according to the draught sent into Northamptonshire: w^{ch} I hope (his revenew being encreased by the decease of his mother about 400^{li} p ann, and his resolucon of laying downe his vexatious suite against his too potent adversary, wth the remainder of his Lady's portion) hee will bee carefull at the appointed time to see discharged. I suppose before this time you haue heard of my Lady Stranges safe deliury of a daughter: yesterday shee was made a Christian: the witnesses my Lady Denton, the Lady Spring, and S^r Christopher Calthorpe, the Childs name Elizabeth: my Lady Denton went to the Church, and answered hir selfe for it: Soe well it pleaseth God to deale wth hir.

The litle remainder is scarce sufficient to p^rsent the due observance and respects, w^{ch} is tendered to yo^r selfe and Lady from all yo^r relations heere, and in particular from, Sr

Your most devoted serv^t and affeconate kinsman

John Stuteville.

My Lady Denton desires, that if you be pleased to keepe the 500^{li} still in yo^r hands of hers, w^{ch} shee hath giuen to my Lady Strange, that shee may haue yo^r Bill or Bond for hir security, and the enterest for it ever since shee married.

[John Stuteville, Esq., to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Septemb. 14, 1663.

Honoured S^r,

Since my last to you of y^e 13 Aug: (but, as I now perceive, mistaken 3 dayes in the date) I haue received two of you^r; the 1st of them not long after I had sent away mine to you; the other, of the 17 of the last, came not to my hands till the 6^t of this: by both of them I find a miscariage of some former letters, and a very slow passage of others, but where the fault is wee can not discover: wee have formerly and doe still make use of the London way as the surest, though longest in the conveiance. My Lady Denton hath of late beene some what distemperd wth a few fainting fits, and had a desire to see the Doctor, who onely gaue hir a cordiall water, and

prescribed some few rules for hir diet: shee is at this present in indifferent good health, and the rest of the family (except one serv^t now sicke of a feavor): but it is to bee feared, y^e yeare will not conclude soe by reason of the plenty of unwholsome fruit. S^r Nich. l'estrange and his Lady present their humble duty to yo^r selfe and Lady, and desire that at the time you would bee pleased to pay in the *other 1000 pounds to Mr. Charls Everard*, and for the 500^l in yo^r hands, my Lady desires it may continue there still, paying enterest to hir from the mariage, and that the Bill to bee sealed by you for it, may bee deferred till yo^r next meeting. Concerning the ffrench Lutanist, who tells you hee formerly taught at Bury, I can giue noe account, by reason of the small Pox, w^{ch} hath beene very much there all this yeare, and wee haue but little or noe entercourse at all wth them: if I heare otherwise then well heereafter of him, I shall not fayle to acquaint you wth it. Wee all tender o^r due and respective remembrances, and doe pray for the continuance of all health, and happines to yo^r selfe and worthy Lady, wth yo^r numerous issue, both in this world and that w^{ch} is to come, and all this bee pleased to receiue from

Worthy S^r,

Yor devoted serv^t, and most affeconate kinsman

John Stuteville.

[Mr. Charles Everard to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Nouember 26th, 1663.

S^r,

Yours I receued with the Inclosed to your Daughter wich shall be sent away by the first y^t to M^r Cotton was sent away presently I suppose you will haue an anser this post of it. I haue Inquired of many but cannot finde any mony heare, to serve this occation, S^r Nicholas Le strange wrote neare a month since y^t beside y^r 500^l you formerly payd you would pay 1000^l more and desire y^t it might be all riddy for hime, for he was to pay it all in december, with what more was in my hands beside your mony, wch is but little, but he did not wright the day he was to pay it in, my seruiss presented I ame

S^r,

Yours to serue you

Charles Everard.

At y Brasen

rame smithfeild.

It is evident from the foregoing correspondence that Sir Nicholas and his lady made their home, during the first year of their married life, at Stow Langtoft, according to the common practice of the time, whereby for the first year the bride had none of the duties and cares of housekeeping laid upon her. After the birth of the first child, in August, 1663, it became necessary that the mother and child should remove to a home of their own, and accordingly Sir Nicholas appears to have once more taken up his residence at Hunstanton in the early spring of 1664. The change did not suit the young mother, and she was soon seriously ill with rheumatism. The first letter which we get from Hunstanton is the following :—

[Sir Nicholas L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham. Punctuation retained as before.]

Hunstanton, Apr. y^e 19th, 1664.

Hono^d S^r,

After y^e tender, of our humble duties to y^r selfe, and craving y^r blessing for o^rselves, and ours; I am bold as Secretary at this time; to my wife; to let you understand that this night she received; Y^r, and my Sister Carews letters wherein she received; some hopes of assistance, towards, the hastening, and perfecting her recovery; Out of this present most troublesome, and malignant distemper. She maketh it her most humble request; that all possible meanes may be used, for y^e procuring the Balsome, You are pleased to mention, or any other thing, which may Conduce the removing or rather utter suppressing those humours, that at present are soe prædominant. Blessed be God she is finely chearly, and maketh shift to step about y^e chamber. But, ever, and anon the paine is flitting from one place to another. Thus S^r I shall trouble you noe ffurther knowing; y^e weighty, occasions, you have now in hand, but onely Subscribe my selfe, as in duty I am bound to doe

S^r,

Your truly honering Sonne in law

Nich. L'estrange.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hun : May y^e 6th, 1664.S^r,

I bless God I am now able to give an account of my better condition, then I have been, I can with the helpe of sticks goe a little about the house and I doe increase in strength dayly. the Humor does still shift first from one Arme to another and then the same in my legs but it is not in such extreimity as I was in 7 weekes together, the Doctor does comfort mee in being very confident I shall not be so ill againe of this distemper, and he sayes my often sweating was a great releife to mee though I was exceeding weake till very lately.

S^r Nicolas having ocasion to send a man up to London I was glad of so speedy an oportunity of presenting our duties, and hope to here of your health which I shall pray for whilest I am S^r

Your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'Estrange.

Lady Denton, who had been ailing for so long, was now drawing near her end, and it seems that Lady L'Estrange was summoned to her bedside. The old lady had been as a mother to the two sisters, and Judith Isham's devotion to her aged relative overtaxed her strength. Lady L'Estrange went to her assistance and remained till the end came.

[Judith Isham to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Stow, May the 16th, 1664.

I did not write since I sent one by my sister Carew not knowing how to direct it, My Lady is weake and faint this hot weather. she walkes about her chamber with two to Lead her. my cosin Thom^s Isham was here, we herd from Lamport by him ; my cosin Stuteville went to Dallham last weeke to attend my Lady Newdigates corpes who was buried there, my Lady knowes not of her Death for she would be troubled at it she was 10 years elder then her selfe. I shall aquaint M^r Danford that you are pleased to be mindfull of his business. I did write my sister Lestrange word of the mony that M^r Everard had for us she will get it returned shortly. My Lady desires to be remembered to your selfe she is a little cheerful towards night. my cosen Stuteville tenders his service with my humble duty presented

I rest S^r your obedient Daughter

Judith Isham.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Stow, July the 25th, 1664.S^r,

I came hether last weeke and found my Lady very weake my sister ill of a feavor, care and want of sleepe had bin cause of her distemper she lieng in my Ladys chamber as long as she could hold well. I persuaded her to lie out of it now, my Lady being little sencible of any thing, Doc : Bucknam was here and let her bleed I hope she will get well againe though at present she is very low and weake I send this by sis : Carew my sister Judeth sent 2 letters to the Ram^s and supposes you never had them, while I wright this my Lady lies struggling for life I beseech God assist her in this her last agony, she has tooke little sustenance this weeke but lay quiet till now, my sister must stay here some time after the funerall to dispatch business she is onely, and my Cosen Stuteville executors, when she can leave this place S^r Nicolas and my selfe doe earnestly desire her company at Hunston I am much alone there without woeman society; she is willing with your leave to be with us, I would have sent upon purpose with this, but S^r Nicolas being at Norwich sizes I am here without servants. I thanke God I am so well to be here and attend and doe my last duty to my Lady there is life still and breath in her she may continue thus a day or too, I can add noe more at present in some disorder and sadness our duties presented I remaine

S^r your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrange.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Stow, August the 1st, 1664.S^r,

the last weeke I sent a letter to you by Sis : Carew in which I gave an account of my Lady Denton's weake condition, it pleased God to release her about 3 howers after upon the 25th of July, the funerall was the next night after privatly as she desired. My sister Judith is I thank God recouering of her fevor. She has a dimond ring w^{ch} my Lady comanded her to keepe for you till she see you. There is ten pound in the will for your selfe for mourning and a 100£ for my brother Thomas and 40 pound to the poore of Lamporte which moneys cannot be payd till, S^r Thomas Bowes payes in that which is due halfe

* Apparently the Brazen Ram, Smithfield, Mr. Everard's place of business.

a yeare after her Death, she had onely by her for funeral charges and to keepe the family together a month, my sister Carew Cosen Grayes and Stewards and her 3 daughters in Law, have all mournings given them, divers small Legacies to other of her frienda. My cosen Steuteuille continues here till Michaelmas if not longer till he can put of his stocke. He desires his servise to you. my sister and selfe present our humble duties to your selfe and my Lady I rest

S^r

Your obedient Daughter

Elisabeth L'estrang.

Lady Denton's will is at Somerset House (*Reg. Bruce*, 39). For the following abstract I am indebted to my friend Colonel Chester:—

DAME ELISABETH DENTON, of Stowe Langtofte, co. Suffolk, widow. Dated 27 November, 1662. To my nephew SIR JUSTINIAN ISHAM my ring with five diamonds and £10;—to his eldest son THOMAS £100;—to y^e town of Lamport £40, the yearly profit thereof to be laid out for the benefit of y^e poor so long as y^e name of the ISHAMS continue there.

To my nephew Stuteville and his heirs for ever all copyhold lands in Brockley and all household stuff, plate, goods, and chattels whatsoever.

To my nephew and niece GREY each £10;—to my god-daughter ELISABETH GREY £10;—to SUSAN GREY £50 and mourning;—to WILLIAM and ANN GREY each £10.

To my nephew and niece STEWARD each £10, and to his two daughters rings.

To LADY BOWES, LADY POLEY, and my daughter BOKENHAM, mourning.

To SISILLIA BOWES, ELISABETH POLEY, SISILLIA BOKENHAM, HENRY BOKENHAM, M^r GASCOIGNE, and my god-daughter ELIZABETH WEBB, rings.

To my cousin AUNLY a mourning gown, and to her brother WILLIAM DENTON £5;—to my cousin CLAYTON £10; to my cousin ISHAM the widow £20 and a mourning gown;—to her son GARDINER £10 and a mourning suit;—to M^r SPEED a mourning cloak;—to GASCOIGNE cloth for suit and cloak;—to my cousin THOMAS ISHAM and his wife each £5

All residue equally between my nephew STUTEVILLE and my two nieces the LADY STRANGE and her sister JUDITH ISHAM LADY STRANGE's portion to be for the benefit of her children, and SIR NICHOLAS to take no advantage by it. JOHN STUTEVILLE and JUDITH ISHAM, executors, also proved the will jointly (P.C.C.) 18 August, 1664.

[John Stuteville, Esq., to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Honoured S^r,

had that letter, w^{ch} I dispatched away the same day my Lady Lestrangle wrote hirs, beene deliuered according to the directions, it might have come to yo^r hands a weeke sooner then hir La^{ty} but I perceiue it fell short of Lamport and therefore I now find my Lady Carews to bee the surest, though furthest way about. In that I did intimate of some legacies bequeathed to yo^r selfe, sonne Thomas, and the poore of yo^r towne, w^{ch} as sonne as mony comes in, wee shall take care to see discharged. In the interim I must acknowledge it for a very great favor, that free offer, w^{ch} you make of any of yo^r houses in that country for me to live in. I returne you my very hearty thanks for it, and could I but recall a score of yeares; yo^r noble offer, together wth the pleasantnes of yo^r conversation, and country might have induced me to accept of it: but as yo^r selfe does well remember, my Ladys going before, does but put us in mind, that wee must both follow after hir: and it is, and shallbe my desire, after my dissolution, when I am gathered to my fathers, to bee likewise interred among them. Indeed I am much obliged to yo^r selfe, and to all my friends in Norfolk, and in this country for the like offer: but my Lady, by leaving mee hir stocke upon the Ground, has engaged mee soe far in the world, that I can not readily quit my selfe of it, especially soe neere Michaelmas; and therefore I am resolu'd for one yeare more to abide heere at Stow, the execution of my Lady's will likewise requiring my attendance in these parts. But where soever I am, or howsoever it shall please God to dispose of mee, I desire you should bee assured of that observance, and respect, w^{ch} to yo^r selfe, and ever honoured Lady, wth all yo^r, and o^r relations, I must acknowledge to bee ever due from

S^r

Yo^r most faithfull serv^t, and most honouring kinsman

Aug. 29,
1664.

John Stuteville.

[Judith Isham to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Stow, August the 29th 1664.

Sr,

I receiued yours of August the 15, the 28. which I shall send to my sister Lestrangle she has bin gone from hence aboue a fortnight, I thanke God I am in some measure restored to health something faint upon stirring. But cannot so easily passe ouer the great losse I have had of my Dear Aunt, whose vertues I shall Indeavour to imitate, though I come short of being so like her as I desire, I shall stay here with my cosen Stuteville about 3 weekes. if your commands had not obliged me, (yet his kindness will.) to pay him all the respect I can w^{ch} I hope I shall not be wanting In, nor my sister, who takes all occasions to expresse her gratitude; he was kindly Invited to Hunston by them both to liue there if he had pleased, he has promised to giue them a vissit when his occasion permit. his sisters haue bin very earnest to haue him with either of them and he is as much desired at Dalham but he could not please himselfe with any of those places, he keepes the family as it was till Michaelmas after that he lessens it. for he intends to continue here one yeere longer. in w^{ch} time he hopes the Executors will pay in most of the mony which is due before. but they desire time for the paiment. he is very carefull to performe all according to the Will w^{ch} is proued and sent downe from London, the Neighbours haue bin very civill in vissiting, but I am most obliged to the Lady Disere for her kind invitation of me to come and be wth her some good while. I excused myselfe that I was not so fit to waite upon her In regard I had not been well, I shall wait upon her one day, and acknowledge my great obligation, my sister did wait upon her before she went with the Lady Spring, my humble duty and seruice presented, I rest

Sr your obedient Daughter

Judith Isham.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hunstanton, Sept. 26. 1664.

Sr,

My sister and child came safe to me this weeke I received your letter by her and returne many thanks that you are pleased to let us be together at present which is a great comfort to us both after the loss of our dear Aunt wee should be glad to here that my cosen Stuteville had fixed upon a good choyse for a wife he seemes to be

solicitous for one, and I did incourage him to doe well for himselfe, and did name a neece of my Lady Springs that I know will suit him, and it is very like he may be accepted, but wee feare his humor of stirring so little abroad, may make him doe that which all his friends will take noe satisfaction in. S^r Nicholases Eldest Brother⁴ will marry his cosen my uncle Ham: Le Stranges daughter wth though it is not approved by some yet being it is liked by my Aunt Mary Lewkner⁵ from whom he (and the rest of the Brothers) expect considerable advantage; it is yeilded too. She being so kind to keepe house to entertaine them all, that wee have little of there companys wth us. S^r Nicolas my sister and selfe present our humble dutys; and servise to my Lady Isham I am

S^r your obedient Daughter

Elisabeth L'Estrange.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hunstanton, Decem.

the 13th, 1664.

S^r,

I received yours from Mr. Evarard and defer'd writing till I supposed you might be come to London, there falling much raine since many might be prevented, I thanke God wee all injoy our healths I am very free from the Gout this winter Season goeing much warmer in Cloaths then ever I did. There is 300^l in your hands left my sister Judith by my Aunt Denton wth she does not desire should be paid onely the interest from the time my Aunt died which she allowed her when she lived. Wee are glad to here of my sister Carews health wth her little ones by whom I send this Mr. Evarard being at Norwich upon the business of marrieng which busines my cosen Stuteville will onely talke of, for he makes noe hast in proceeding as I here; S^r Nicho: my sister and selfe present our duty and service to your selfe and my Lady Isham, I am S^r your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrange.

⁴ This is John L'Estrange, who married his cousin Dorothy.

⁵ Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, uncle of the writer of this letter, married Anne Lewkner, daughter of Sir Edward Lewkner of Denham, on the 26th August, 1629. Who this "Aunt Mary Lewkner" was, in the present condition of the Lewkner pedigree, I dare not conjecture.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hunstanton, Aprill y^e 24th,

1665.

S^r,

I beleive this may find you at London. I see by your last your intentions was to be there the begining of the terme which was the cause I deffered writing till this time we injoy health and peace heare, my L^d Townsens^e being ill at London gives my Husband S^r Ed. Walpole^e and others much publicke business, they are all at Norwich and must goe againe next weeke; it is most inconvenient for us we live so remote, but S^r Nicholas will not draw backe in any servise he is able to doe, as my cosen Stuteville writt my L^d of Hereford⁷ would have done. After he treated the Duke of Yorke at Harwich [he] offered his servise to waite upon him in the ingagement, which was so much accepted he could not in honour retreat, which made S^r Will Spring and divers others spare such complements. However wee have all cause to pray for there Happy success.⁸ My sister and selfe present our humble duty

I remaine S^r your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'Estrange.

if you please to pay my sisters money and mine to Mr Evarard we shall receive it as formerly.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

April the 2^d, 1666.S^r,

I have received yours with that to my cosen Stuteville w^{ch} shall be sent to him, wee have received the money. my sister keeps what remaines till she has opportunity to deliver it, My husband went from Thetford to Newmarket when the king was there and see him alight from his Horse and run up Divels ditch which S^r Nicolas was more pleased wth then with the horse race. M^r. Aldridge was with us

⁶ Horatio, first Lord Townshend, of Rainham. He was at this time Baron Townshend, and not created Viscount till 1682.

⁶ Grandfather of the great Sir Robert Walpole. He was created a Knight of the Bath in 1661, and was at this time M.P. for King's Lynn.

⁷ Leicester Devereux, sixth Viscount Hereford.

⁸ War was declared against Holland on the 15th March, 1665. The engagement with the Dutch fleet off Lowestoft, in which the Duke of York defeated the enemy under Opdam and Van Tromp, took place on the 3rd June.

this weeke wth my Lady Walpole and desired mee to tender his service to you. Wee acknowledge it a great favour you are pleased to offer us a retreat in time of danger. About 2 months since, I was in some feare as they were in Suffolke; at present I thanke God wee are in health and peace and hope the continuance of that mercy w^{ch} will be more comfortable to me in regard of my present condition, my burthen disabling mee for travell, S^r Nicholas my sister and selfe present our humble duties to your selfe, service to my Lady Isham,

I am S^r your obedient daughter

Elizabeth L'Estrange.

[Judith Isham to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Aprill the 23^d, 1666.

S^r,

The last weeke my sister was safely deliuered of a Daughter we hope she went her full time though she was deceiued in her reckoning; It suckt very well at first But after 3 dayes it changed and turned Blacke that we feared it would not lue so it was presently christened the name is Jane: it is now much better and suckes againe and my sister I thanke God is in a reasonable good condition hauing a very quicke Labour but is so weake after it that we dare not take her out of her Bed till it please God she gather strength. my Brother and she both present their humble Duty to your selfe and seruice to my Lady with the tender of mine. I receiued this from my cosin Stuteville since the receipt of the mony due to your selfe, returning humble thanks for that w^{ch} I haue of it:

I rest S^r your obedient Daughter

Judith Isham.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hunstanton, May y^e

28, 1666.

S^r,

I received yours of May y^e 7th the 26. I bless God for the continuance of health at Lamport and here. the plague is no nearer us than Norwich there it increases dayly.¹ M^r Le Gross² is gone up to

¹ "There died in this city, from Oct. 3, 1665, to Oct. 3, 1666, 3012 whereof of the plague, 2251."—Blom., III. 410.

² Apparently Frances, daughter of Sir Charles Le Gross, who married Nicholas Barwell, Esq., of Gray's Inn.

London to marry one M^r. Burrel it was well she had not M^r. Evarard there is divers Gentry lose much of there money y^e was in his hands. being glad to take a noble in the pound, my husband had but a very little at this time. My cosen Stuteville paid 165^l which was all the Legacies due in Northamptonshire there was 98 pound taken out for my sister and selfe there remaines in her hands 67^l w^{ch} shall be payd to them you please to appoint. my cosen Stute: desired the receipt for the poor of Lamport might be from the chiefe inhabitants minister and Church warden of the Towne. S^r Nicholas my sister and selfe present our duty and service to your selfe and my Lady Isham

I am S^r y^r obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrango.

[Judith Isham to Sir Justinian Isham.]

March 24th, 1667.

S^r,

I receiued yours of March y^e 9th the 20th, I hope you are now free from those paines of the Stone and feare of a Strangury. My Brother¹ use to be troubled wth that sharpe Urine after an ill fit of the Stone w^{ch} would goe off againe; his Grandfather had it much In his later time; S^r Edward Walpole died the last Wednesday² he was Buried priuately upon Thursday night as he desired, his Tutor D^r. Duport³ was wth him in his Sickness and his wiues Mother the Lady Crane to whom he committed the care of his children; Goddards Dropps had very ill effects gave him convulsions and a numbnes that he was a most sad spectacle a month Before he died. D^r. Browne⁴ and all his other Phisitions was very much against his taking the Dropps and he himselfe was not of opinion they could do him good till the Lord Townshend advised him to take them; I haue my Ague still But I thanke God it is much more favorable then at the Beginning keeping low diet and taking cooling broaths I had almost got it away till the cold weather came; my Brother and sister present their duties and service to my Lady wth the tender of mine I rest, S^r,

y^r obedient Daughter

Judith Isham.

¹ *I.e.*, as we say, her *brother-in-law* Sir Nicholas L'Estrange.

² 18th March, as his M. I. records.

³ James Duport, D.D. He had been Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and was Regius Professor of Greek, 1639—1654. He was made a Prebendary of Lincoln in 1641 and Dean of Peterborough in 1664.

⁴ Sir Thomas Browne. He was not knighted till 1671.

[Lady L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

April y^e 13th, 1668.

S^r,

I had yours this weeke of March y^e 29, my sister some while since mentioned our loss of S^r Ed: Walpoole the Towne of Lin hath chosen one M^r Wright^s that married B^{pp} Wrens daughter. S^r Nicholas was excited by many to stand, but he declyned it. My sister is not quite free of her ague she hath lost it two or three times and then it comes againe, she is in a cource of Phisick for it. I thanke God I have good health this spring, my youngest Girle hath not yet brought up her worst teeth she is often ill wth the anguish of them, if you please to pay the money to M^r John Fisher at the peare in the broad Sanctuary in Westminster wee shall soone have it, S^r Nicholas my sister and selfe present our humble dutys to your selfe and service to my Lady.

I remaine S^r

Your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrange.

[Sir Nicholas Carew to Sir Justinian Isham.]

S^r,

On Sunday night last about eight of the clock my Wife was safely deliuered of a lusty Boy, and I prayse God both of them continew uery well, we daly expect my Brother L'estrange here and sisters who will be uery welcome espetially at this time; the D of Albemarle^s has sold his plase of Master of the Horse to the D: of Buckingham^e other alterations are talked of but nothing knowne as yet perhaps by the next you may here more from

S^r

Beddingtone

June the: 3^d: 1668.

Your obedient soon in Law

Nicholas Carew.

^s Robert Wright of Wangford, co. Suffolk, the infamous associate of Judge Jeffreys, and much patronized by him. He married as his second wife *Susan*, daughter of Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, and as his third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Chief Justice Scroggs. He was an ignorant and vicious man, but by the influence of Jeffreys he was made a judge, in spite of the Lord Keeper North's protest, and became even Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1687. He died in Newgate in 1690. There is much about him in Roger North's *Lives of the Norths*.

^s Christopher (*Monke*) second Duke of Albemarle.

⁷ George (*Villiers*) second Duke. He was at the head of the Cabinet known as "the King's Cabal," which came into office after the banishment of Lord Clarendon. The "alterations" talked of were those consequent upon the break up of the Clarendon ministry.

[Lady L'estrage to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Octo: y^e 12th, 68.

Sr,

I received yours dated the 27th the 10th of this. I thinke a letter I wrott some time since might miscarry I confess I have not sent lately, we are glad to heare my Lady is so well delivered of a son my children hath all bin sicke of a disease that is called the water or swines pox and S^r Nicholas is inclyning to the gout and many are troubled wth feavors and agues this hott unseasonable weather. I lately met wth S^r Jacob Ashly^s and his mother and Lady at M^{rs} Gibbons^s a widdow who is to marry young M^r Woodhouse, they did all aske if there was hopes of that happiness of seeing you next summer in Norfolke, S^r Justinian Lewin¹ and his Lady was here wth mee and did tender there service to you. S^r Nicholas presents his duty. My sisters and selfe Injoy reasonable Good health I thanke God; we both present our duties, service to my Lady Isham.

I am S^r your obedient Daughter

Elizabeth L'estrage.

We hope Dell may prove a better nurs the next time she must not fall off the table for y^t my Husband sayes might be the destruction of the puppies.

- When the foregoing letter was written SIR NICHOLAS and his lady had enjoyed six years of almost uninterrupted domestic happiness. Quietly settled in their Norfolk home, and removed from the dissipation and the vices of the wicked court of Charles II., they had had "no history." Their letters had little to record, and their Norfolk gossip could rarely be of much interest to their friends in

^s Sir Jacob Astley of Melton Constable, created Baronet in 1660. His mother was the Hon. Elizabeth Astley, daughter of Jacob Lord Astley.

^s Mercy, daughter of Sir Philip Parker of Erwarton, co. Suffolk, Knt., and relict of William Guibon of Thurston, Esq. She married (2) Edmond Wodehouse of East Lexham, Esq.

¹ Of St. Bartholomew the Less, London. He was a Master in Chancery, and knighted for his loyalty 12th May, 1661. See *General Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley*, p. 411.

Northamptonshire. Sir Nicholas disliked politics, and, as we have seen, declined to become a Parliament man, though requested to stand for Lynn after the death of Sir Edward Walpole. He seems to have been a man of uncertain health for some years, suffering from the gout and other ailments. He left behind him two daughters and, according to some authors, a son as the issue of his second marriage. Of the son I know nothing, but the expression in Lady L'Estrange's letter of the 12th October, 1668, "my children hath *all* been sicke," clearly implies that there were more than two children, unless indeed her ladyship includes the young heir as among her own. Of the daughters, according to Blomefield, ELIZABETH, the elder, married ROBERT TASH of Ivor, co. Bucks, Esq.; JANE, the younger, became the wife of WILLIAM BARNESLEY, Esq., Counsellor-at-law. Lady L'Estrange at the time of her husband's death was in her thirty-seventh year; whether she married again I have not ascertained.

The following letter, which closes this interesting correspondence, may be left to tell its own sad tale. The writer was Sir Nicholas' third brother, as appears by the settlement made on Sir Nicholas' marriage with Mary Coke, 20th April, 1657, and printed *in extenso* in the *Hastings Peerage*. According to this document the brothers named in the entail of the estates are (1) John, (2) William, (3) Edward, (4) Roger, (5) Charles, (6) Thomas, all then living. The pedigree, therefore, given in the *Norfolk Visitation* (vol. i., p. 66) should be corrected, for the marriage settlement can hardly be wrong. In the monumental inscription quoted by Blomefield (x. 326) it is stated that Sir Nicholas died on the *thirteenth* of December. It will be noticed that his brother Edward, writing with stricter regard to accuracy, mentions that Sir Nicholas died at three o'clock on the morning of the *fourteenth*. He was only thirty-seven years of age, and was succeeded in the baronetcy

by his son Nicholas, who at his father's death had just completed his eighth year :—

[Mr. Edward L'Estrange to Sir Justinian Isham.]

Hunstanton, Decemb^r y^e 15th

1669.

Honoured S^r,

Since y^e receiuing of yours of the 15th last past, it has pleased y^e all disposing providence of Almighty God to cause a Sad change in this family, by y^e sudden death of my Brother S^r Nicholas L'Estrange who changed this life for a better, about three of y^e clock in y^e morning, last tuesday, (y^e 14th of this instant :) he did complaine of y^e gout in his foot two dayes before he died ; but was not confined to his bed, untill Munday, about six of y^e clock in y^e afternoone, when he was taken wth violent convulsion fits, w^{ch} continued untill 3 of y^e clock next morning, y^e time of his departure : his Lady is left a uery Sad Widdow, for her great and Suddaine Losse ; w^{ch} she being not able to acquaint you wth, her selfe ; has laid her comands upon mee, (wth y^e tendure of her duty) to make it knowne to you : desiring your advice, and assistance ; my Brother not hauing left a will, y^e can be found ; unlesse it be at London, wth M^r L'Estrange calthorpe,² or M^r Jn^o. Fisher ; who have most of his writings of concernment at this time ; w^{ch} if you please to puse, and to aduise her Ladyship how to act ; whether to administer, or not ; will be a great satisfaction to y^e disconsolate Lady : her Ladyship desires Madam Judeth Isham, may be acquainted wth her losse, by degrees, least y^e great affection y^e euer was betwixt my deceased Bro^r and her ; may occasion too violent a passion : Honoured S^r if I may be any wayes service-able, to your selfe, or much respected family ; you shall euer find me

S^r

Your most faithfull Servant

Edward L'Estrange.

S^r be pleased to present
my humble Service to
your honoured Lady,
Madam Isham : and y^e
Rest of your worthy family :

² Of Gressenhall, co. Norfolk. He was one of the trustees under the marriage settlement of Sir Nicholas with his first wife, Mary Coke, and is there described as "of the Middle Temple, London, Esq." He was knighted by Charles II. and was made Serjeant-at-law.

[I am compelled to throw myself upon my readers' indulgence for once, while I depart from my almost invariable custom of citing my authorities for statements in the text and notes of this paper, which must be more or less new to all but experts in our local and family history. I can only pledge my accuracy and good faith to the assurance that chapter and verse could in every instance be produced, but in the circumstances in which, for the moment, I find myself, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.—A. J.]

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¹ This Index is doubtless very imperfect, and is intended to serve only as a draft of a more complete one, to be worked into my forthcoming Index to Norfolk Topography. All corrections, additions, &c., will be very gratefully received.
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AN INDEX¹

TO THE

Names of the Chief Places (not being Towns or Villages) occurring on the Ordnance Map of Norfolk and in Bryant's Map of Norfolk.

To the places mentioned in the latter only a * is prefixed.

Abel Heath near Aylsham
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*Back Hole near Melton Parva
 *Baconsthorpe Street near
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 Bartholomew Hills near South-
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 Basil Farm near W. Dereham
 Bastard's Green near Wacton
 *Bate's Moor near Foulsham
 Battledore Hill near Stiffkey

¹ This index is doubtless very imperfect, and is intended to serve as a draft only of a more complete one to be worked into my forthcoming "Index to Norfolk Topography." All corrections, additions, &c., will be very gratefully received.—W. R.

Bayfield Hall near Runhall
 Bays Farm near Hapton
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 *Bellford Bridge near Broome
 Benn Gate near Worstead
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 tington
 Blackwater near Beetley
 Blackwater near Hilborough
 Blackwater near Sparham
 Blake's Grove near Starston
 Blood Hills near West
 Somerton
 Blood's Dale Lane near Bacton
 Bloomstile Lane near Salhouse

Bloy's Bridge near East Tud-
 denham
 Blue Bell Common near North
 Walsham
 Blue Stone Hall near Cawston
 Blunt's Corner near Holkham
 Park
 Bolwick near Marsham
 Bond's Green near Bracon Ash
 Boot's Grove near Toft Monks
 Bow Bridge near Diss
 Bow Hill near Marlingford
 Bowl's Farm near Alburgh
 Bowthorpe Hall near Colney
 Boyland Hall near Hempnall
 Bradmoor Wood near North
 Walsham
 *Bramedy by Melton Parva
 Brandish Wood near Raven-
 ingham
 Bran's Meadow Car near Crost-
 wight
 Branson Hall near Tatterset
 Branthill near Holkham Park
 Brentford's near Oxwick
 Brewer's Green near Diss
 Brick Hill near Thursford
 Brickley Green near Scottow
 Bride's Pit near Swaffham
 Bridgirdle Sand, off Burnham
 Bridle Wood near Watton
 Briggate near Worstead
 Bristol Green near Walpole
 St. Peter
 *Brixton Bridge Lane near
 Barnham Broom
 Brixton Carr near Reedham
 Brook's Green nr. W. Walton
 Broomthorpe Hall nr. Tatterset
 Brow on the Hill near Ash-
 wicken
 *Brute's Grove Hill near Gil-
 lingham
 Bryants Heath near North
 Walsham

- Buckenham's Claypit near Earsham
 Bugg's Grave near Horsford
 Bullard's Plantation near Gresham
 Bullfair Grove near Gunthorpe
 Bullsmoor Cover near Runhall
 Bull's Green, near Toft Monks
 Bunker's Hill near Spixworth²
 *Bunn's Bank near Attleborough
 Bunn's Hill near N. Walsham
 Bunwood Hall near Mileham
 Burnt Fen Broad near Neatishead
 *Burnt Hill Grove near Cromer
 Burnt Lane near Wiggenhall Magdalen
 Burrow Common near Attleborough
 *Burrow Fen Drove near Foulton
 *Burns, the, by Stockton
 Burrow Farm near Binham Abbey
 Burrow Hill near Holkham
 *Bury Hall near Smallburgh
 Bury's Grove near Holm Hale
 Bushey Bulls near Aslacton
 *Butcher Common near Neatishead
 *Buxted's Green near Burgh St. Peter
 Cake House near East Bradenham
 Cake Street near Old Buckenham
 Cakewick near Wymondham
 *Cake's Hill near Attleborough
 Cake's Lane near Bale
 Calton Yard near Thurgarton
 *Camgate near Neatishead
 *Camp Corner by Bawburgh
 Campton House near Waterden
 Candle Yard near Fersfield Common
 Cantley Hill near Arminghall
 Cargate Green by Upton
 *Castle Hill Wood near Hunworth
 Cat Brook runs into Wensum by Little Ryburgh
 Catch Back near Ryburgh
 Catchers near Stibbard
 Catling Grove near New Walsingham
 *Cat Pits, Kelling Heath
 Cats' Common near Smallburgh
 *Catshall Heath near East Harling
 Cattwood near Aylsham
 Cauldwell Hill near South Pickenham
 Cavelly near Southburgh
 Cavenham Hithe near Wereham
 Chamber Hill near New Walsingham
 Channonz Hall near Aslacton
 Chantrey Farm near Egmore
 Chapman's Entry near Fersfield Common
 Chard's Farm near Westfield
 Cheney's Lane near Bunwell
 Cherry Ground near Swanton Morley
 Chilvey House near Bawsey
 Chimney Farm near Walcot
 Chiswick's Wood near Shouldham Thorpe
 *Choseley Farm near Thornham
 Clannow's Hills near Swaffham

² E. G. R. [The Rev. E. Gillett of Runham] in *Notes and Queries*, iii., Series 1, p. 236, thinks this "Bunkey" or Hemlocky Hill.

Clapham's Dams near Trimingham

Clapper Farm near Harleston

Claremont Lodge nr. Threxton

Claypit Moor near Litcham

Clink Hill near West Caister

Clintergate Farm nr. Alburgh

Clip Lane near Scoulton

*Clock Hern Farm near Westfield

Cobbe Hall near Ingoldisthorpe

Cobblers' Lane nr. Terrington St. John

Cobb's Grove near Gt. Melton

*Coble Hill near Burnham Westgate

Cobler's Green nr. Bedingham

*Codd's Hole near Shotesham All Saints

Colder Green Farm near Alburgh

Coldham Hall near Aylsham

Coldham Hall nr. Surlingham

Coldham's Cross near Holkham Park

Cold Harbour near Ludham

Colegate near Hardwick

{ *Collin Green near Lyng

{ Colend's Green near Lyng

Cole's Common near Hardwick

Compit Hill near Cromer

Congham Hill near Runton

Copy's Green near Wighton

Cordwell near Bunwell

Cork Mere Bottom near East Wretham

Cottenham Hall near Woodbastwick

*Court Green near Hempstead

Coxford near Tatterset

*Cox Hill by Burlingham St. Peter

Crabbit's Marsh near Horning

Crabb's Castle near Wighton

Crabgate near Wood Dalling

Cradle Hill near Stanhoe

*Crainers nr. Briston Common

Crane's Watering Farm near Harleston

Crankham Barn near Salthouse

Creaking Hill near Little Bittering

Crimer's Beck near Briston

Crome's Hill near Honing

Crome's Hill near N. Walsham

Crossdale Street near North Repps, on Cromer Road

Crow Green near Hardwick

Crow Hall near Downham Market

Crow Hall near Haveringland

Crow Hall Farm near West Lexham

Crow Hill near Bedingham

Crowland Lane near Binham Abbev

{ Crown Point by Norwich

{ *Crown Point by Poringland

Crow Lane near Shipdham

Crudshole near Swaffield

Cubit's Hill Plantation near Tasburgh

Culham Farm near Alburgh

*Cupid's Bower near Shropham

Curd's Hall nr. Lit. Fransham

Currol House near Swaffham

Cutthroat Planting nr. Merton

{ Damgate near Acle

{ *Dangate near Acle

Dandyshall near Stanfield

*Darrow Farm and Wood near Alburgh

Darrow Wood Farm near Shelfhanger

Davy's Grove nr. Kenninghall

*Deadman's Grave near Edingthorpe

Deal Row near East Wretham

Deansend Plantation near West
Harling

Dee Bridge near Honing

Delve Bank near Waxham

Devil's Bottom near E. Winch

*Devil's Ditch near E. Harling

*Devil's Dyke nr. Beachamwell

*Devil's Dyke near Longham

*Devil's Punch Bowl near
Croxtan

Dickmalaw Wood near South
Pickenham

Dockeney near Geldeston

Doctor's Grove near Stanfield

Dogget Farm nr. Happisburgh

D'Oyly's Grove near Saxling-
ham Thorpe

Drabblegate near Aylsham

Drayton Drewray nr. Felthorp

Drosier's Plantation near East
Rainham

*Drunken Drove near Massing-
ham Heath

Duckstown's End near Great
Snoring

Dudwick Houses near Buxton

Duffield's Barn near East
Wretham

Dull's Farm (and House) near
Kirby Cane

Dumpling Green near East
Dereham

Dunberry Hills nr. Gillingham

*Dun Cow Common by
Swainsthorpe

Dunham Farm near Newton

Dunkirk near Sall

*Dunmore Green near Coston

Duttle Bridge near S. Lopham

Dyke Moor near Longham

*Dyke's Common nr. Felbrigg

*Eagle's Falgate near Breccles

Eastaugh near Lyng

Eastfield near Horsey

East Gate near Narburgh

*Eastmore near Beechamwell

Eastward Hills near Costessey

Eaton near Sedgeford

Edgar Farm near Old Walsing-
ham

Edge Green near Kenninghall

Edgefield Heath near Holt

Eding Green near E. Dereham

Elder Hill near Kilverstone

Elgar's Wood near E. Rudham

*Ellis Street near Marsham

*Elmundale } nr. Itteringham
Ellmeldale }

Emily's Bower, Roughton Park

Enterbeck Common near Hil-
lington

Erneford Brook near Holm
Hale

Everet's Grove nr. Saxlingham

Falgate near Potter Heigham

*Fangate near Marsham

*Farrow Street by Ditching-
ham

*Farrow's Farm and Spring
by Mundham St. Peter

*Farthing Green near Loddon

Ferret's Hill near East Winch

Fib's Hole near Coleby

Finnegate Ling near Kirstead

*Fish House Common near
Old Buckenham

Flagmoor Plantation near Fa-
kenham

Flash Pit near Blickling

Fleece Plantation near Hoveton
St. Peter

Fodderstone Gap near Should-
ham Thorpe

*Folthorp Manor near Harding-
ham

Folly Farm near Fersfield

Foul Mere near East Wretham

Foulness near Cromer

Fountain Grove near Moulton
 Fox Common near Crostwright
 Frankfort near Sloley
 Frans Green near Weston
 Freethorpe Common nr. Wick-
 hampton
 Friar's Thorns near Swaffham
 Fring Wood near Calthorpe
 Fritton near Ludham
 Frogs' Hall near Mattishall
 Frogs' Hall near Mundesley
 Frogs' Hall near North Repps
 Frogs' Lane near N. Walsham
 Fromow Farm near Drayton
 Fuller's Hole near Heigham
 *Fyeland Farm near Saxling-
 ham

 Gaffer's Plantation near East
 Wretham
 Galleyhill Plantation near
 Morston
 *Galley Hill near Toft Monks
 Galley Moor near E. Dereham
 Garlick Street near Starston
 Gaston's Plantation near Bale
 Gaudy Hall near Redenhall
 Gay House, the, near Starston
 Gilham Wood near Carleton
 Forehoe
 Gillow's Willows Farm near
 Alburgh
 Gilpit's Hole near E. Beckham
 Godfreys near Hindringham
 Godfry's Hall near Thwaite
 Goldie's Car near Cantley
 Golond Plantation near Hel-
 houghton
 Gonville Hall near Wymond-
 ham
 Gooderstone nr. Cockley Cley
 Goose Acre Lane nr. Shipdham
 Gorgate Hall near Hoe
 *Granborough Hill near Wey-
 bourne

Grandcourt Farm near East
 Winch
 *Granson Moor near Litcham
 Granston Lodge nr. Tittleshall
 *Greenways by Swainsthorpe
 Grigstone Plantation nr. East
 Wretham
 *Grimmer's Farm near Toft
 Monks
 *Grimmer's Mill nr. Haddiscoe
 Gringland Barn near Topcroft
 Grint Mill near Worthing
 Grirey's Earth near Hecking-
 ham
 Grishaugh near Ashwelthorpe
 Grub's Lane near Ingham
 Grub Street near Happisburgh
 Gudgeons, Aldborough
 Gulgate Lane near Calthorpe
 Gun's Bridge nr. Dickleburgh
 Gunstead Car near Wheatacre
 Marsh
 Gunthorpe Sluice nr. Walpole
 St. Peter
 Guton Hall near Brandiston
 Guttermere Bridge near Hick-
 ling Broad

 Haggard Street near Horstead
 Hagon Beck Farm, Roughton
 Hall Green nr. West Walton
 *Halthorp near Ingham
 *Hamfer House near Holme
 Hale
 Hammer Hills near Wiveton
 Hamond Lodge near Terring-
 ton St. Clement
 Hardy Plain Hall near Upwell
 Harmon Grove near Easton
 Harper Green nr. Horningtoft
 Hartford Bridges nr. Keswick
 Hasgate Lane near Salthouse
 Hassall Grove near Little
 Fransham
 Hastings near Stibbard

*Havercroft Street near Attleborough
 Haw Hill near East Dereham
 Hawker's Hill near Burnham Norton
 Heath Field near Bayfield
 *Heggatt Street nr. Horstead
 Hell Lane near Bunwell
 Hell's Mere Hole near Carleton St. Peter
 Hermitage Staith near Acle
 Heron Farm nr. Attleborough
 Hezicus Lane near Salthouse
 High Ash Hill nr. Didlington
 High Cross Grove near North Elmham
 High Field near Fakenham
 Hillbro' Hole near Thrigby
 Hillbro' Hole and Farm near Thrigby
 Hill Hall near Westfield
 Hingrave near Alderford
 Hobs Hole near Pensthorpe
 *Hodnom Green near Weston
 Hole House near Crostwight
 Holgate near North Walsham
 Holgate Road near Tibenham
 *Holland Hills near Barnham Broom
 Holland's Green near Bedingham
 Holmes' Common near Honing
 Holmes in Brunstead Marshes
 Holt House near Middleton
 *Holy Cross Hill Plantation near Glanford
 Honey Beck near Thornage
 Honeypt Wood nr. Wendling
 Honeypts near Shropham
 Honor Common Yard near Shropham
 Horse Hill near Bayfield
 Horseshoe Common nr. Briston
 Horsewell near Snettisham
 Horsford Water near Hapton

Houchens near Felthorpe
 How Hill near Ludham
 Howard's Hill near Cromer
 Howard's Hill near Honing
 Hulver Farm near Panxworth
 Humbletoft House by Gressenhall
 Humbleyard Wood nr. Swardeston
 Hungry Hill near North Repps
 Huntingfield Hall nr. Bradenham
 Inceborough Hill nr. Runton
 Ingleborough nr. West Walton
 Ingmote Hill near Holt
 Isaac's Heath near Sheringham
 Ivy Todd near W. Bradenham
 *Iybey near Wood Dalling

Jack Bell's Grove nr. Blickling
 *Jealous Wells' Farm near Alburgh
 *Jorden's Green nr. Whitwell
 Jordon Green near Whitwell
 *Justice Green nr. Wheatacre
 *Keeler Farm nr. Reymmerston
 *Keeler Fen near Reymmerston
 *Keeling Hall near Foulsham
 *Keeling Heath near West Rudham
 Kendall Farm nr. New Buckenham
 Kenwick Hall near Clench-warton
 Keswick near Bromholm
 Kett's Field Farm near Wymondham
 Kettlehill Plantation near Morston
 Kidd's Moor nr. Wymondham
 King's Beck, Skeyton
 King Row near Shipdham
 Kirby Hill near Overstrand

Knicht's Wood near Wood-
bastwick

Knoll, the, near Hindringham

Lady Mound near Salhouse
Lakeford should be Lechford.

[H. Daveney, in *N. & Q.*,
3rd S. 1, p. 438.]

Lambridge near Hickling

Lambridge near Waxham

Langate or **Ostend** nr. **Walcot**

***Langmore Green** nr. **Dickle-**
burgh

Langmere Hill nr. **Brettenham**

Lang Mere near **E. Wretham**

Langmoor near **Coleby**

Langmore Farm nr. **Horstead**

Langmore Green nr. **Rushall**

Langor Hill near **Pensthorpe**

Lascoc Plantation near **Colney**

Lath Street and **Green** near
Saxlingham

Leaths near **Burnham Overy**

Lechford, see **Lakeford**

Leech Pit near **Stiffkey**

Lenwade near **Sparham**

Lenwade Bridge nr. **Alderford**

Letton Grove near **Shipdham**

Lincoln Hall near **Beighton**

Ling End nr. **Little Fransham**

Linghouse near **Stanfield**

***Litchmore Grove** near **Kirby**
Cane

Little Barwick nr. **Stanhoe**

Little Brigg near **Bessingham**

Little Ease nr. **Swanton Morley**

Little London near **Northwold**

Little Marsh nr. **Field Dalling**

Little Moor Green near **East**

Ruston

Live's Heath near **Chedgrave**

***Lizard Common** by **Wymond-**
ham

Loggan Hill Farm near **South-**
mere

Lolly Moor near **Westfield**

***Lom Loss** near **Plumstead**
Magna

Long Gore Marshes, **Hickling**

Lord's Bridge near **Wiggenhall**
St. Mary

Loss Row near **Wilby**

***Lot's Bridge** over **Old Welney**
River south of **Upwell**

Lound Bridge near **Palling**

Lound's Wood near **Tittleshall**

Low Farm near **Limpenhoe**

***Low Ford** near **Eaton** by
Norwich

Low Street nr. **North Elmham**

Lowe Farm near **Kipton**

Lucas Hill, **Holkham Park**

Maiden's Green near **East**
Tuddenham

Mangreen Hall near **Caistor**
St. Edmund's

Man's Beck near **Marsham**

Mansom Green near **Stratton**
Strawless

Marble Hill near **Felbrigg**

Marrowbone Hall near
Heigham

***Marrow Hill** near **Barmer**

Mason's Grove near **Cranworth**

***Maudland Bridge** near **Acle**

May Pole Green near **Toft**
Monks

Mayes' Dole Plantation near
Aylsham

Mayton Hall near **Hautboys**

Micklehaugh near **Banham**

Micklemoor Hill near **Bridg-**
ham

Millbonds near **Aylsham**

Mill Common near **Burston**

***Mill Hoe** near **Thurgarton**

Modney Court and **Bridge** nr.
Hilgay

Mona Hill near **Holm Hale**

Monks' Hall near Brandon
Parva

Monks' Wood, Roughton

Moorclose Plantation near
Baconsthorpe

Morley Hill near Sheringham

Morton Grove near Hockering

Morton Warren nr. Attlebridge

Moss Fen near Palling

Mount Amelia near Ingoldis-
thorpe

Mount-epping Barn near East
Wretham

Mousehall Clump, Holkham
Park

*Mousehold Farm near Ryston

Mousehold Heath nr. Norwich

Mucklands near Aylsham

Muckleburgh Hill nr. Wey-
bourne

Muckledyke Greenway near
Stiffkey

Mucklefield near Worstead

Muckle Hill near N. Walsham

Muckle Hill near Runton

Muckleton near Stanhoe

Mullicourt Priory nr. Outwell

Mullin's Farm nr. Shelfhanger

Murgate near Bracon Ash

*Muskett's Bridge near Baw-
burgh

Muzzle Farm nr. W. Dereham

Nab, the, nr. Burgh Margaret

Nare's Hill near Roughton

Nargate near Beeston

Neal Moor near Upwell

Neatherd's Moor, E. Dereham

Neaton near Watton

Needless Barn nr. Snettisham

*Nethergate near Guestwick

Newarp, a sand off Yarmouth

*Newfound by Colney

Newhouse near Litcham

Newport Lane nr. Happisburgh

Night Marsh near Babingley
Nogdam End near Hardley
Cross

Nooks, the, near Gt. Snoring

No Man's Friend near Sher-
ingham

Norman's Barrow near South
Rainham

Norton Corner near Wood-
dalling

Norton's Grove near Shipdham

Nova Scotia near East Caistor

Nuttall's Plantation near Sher-
ingham

Offold Green near Thornham

Old Rackham's Grove near
Bunwell

Olwer Broad near Irstead

Over Cross near Banham

Ox's Wood near Aylsham

Packsfield near West Rudham

Painswhin near West Rudham

*Pakeham near Denver

Pangle near Wereham

Panworth Hall near Ashill

Paseling Green near Elsing

Pattesley near South Rainham

*Pattywell near Hackford

Peatham should be *Pedham*.

[H. Daveney, in *N. & Q.*,
3rd S. 1, p. 437.]

*Peddar's Way, runs across
Shropham Hundred

Pedham, see Peatham

Pembroke's Yard nr. Fersfield
Common

Penfold Common near Gressen-
hall

*Penn Hall near Poringland

*Penn Gate near Smallburgh

*Pest House nr. Raveningham

Peter's Grove near Stratton
Strawless

Peterstone near Holkham
 Petterwell near Hackford
 *Pidham Mill Dam by Panx-
 worth
 Pigs' Grave near Swanton
 Novers
 Pig's Pond near Tatterford
 Pillow Green Plantation near
 East Bilney
 Pinfold Lane near Salhouse
 *Piscat Lane by Ashby
 Pit Farm near South Reppe
 Pitcher's Plantation near
 Hevingham
 Plaw Field near Upwell
 Playter's Hall near Fincham
 Pockthorpe near Wrampling-
 ham
 *Poles' Lane near Ashman-
 haugh
 Polver Drain near Wiggenhall
 St. Peter
 *Pool Street near Bressing-
 ham
 *Pope's Hole near S. Lopham
 Popham's Eau near Outwell
 Pople Street near Wymond-
 ham
 Popnal Farm near Emneth
 *"Portway," the road to Attle-
 borough
 *Posmore House near Sco
 Ruston
 Postle Common near North
 Lopham
 *Pound Corner by Swains-
 thorpe
 Primrose Green near Lyng
 Pristow Green near Tibenham
 Procession Meer Lane near
 Old Walsingham
 Puddingpoke Barn nr. Hapton
 Puddle Dock near Old Buck-
 enham
 *Pulfir Cowey (?) near Bale

Pye Bridge near Alburgh
 Pye's Watering nr. Chedgrave
 Ragmere near Old Buckenham
 Ram Lane near Necton
 *Rammer Hill near Burnham
 Westgate
 Ramsgate Street nr. Ellingham
 Rape's Mouth near Irstead
 Rawhall near Little Bittering
 Red Bridge near Shropham
 Red Hall near Sprowston
 *Reid's Cross near Loddon
 *Reffley's Spring near Gay-
 woods
 Rhee's Green nr. Long Stratton
 Ringer's Grove near Saxling-
 ham
 Ringmere Pit nr. E. Wretham
 Rinham Lane near Morston
 Ringmere near E. Wretham
 Rippon Hall near Hevingham
 Risinghill Plantation near Sax-
 lingham
 *Robbers' Nursery by Honing-
 ham
 Rock Hills near Letheringsett
 Rockland Gap Farm nr. Caston
 Rodgate near Marsham
 Roosting Hill near Beetley
 Roper Farm near Briston
 Rotten Row near East Tud-
 denham
 Roundabout near Aylsham
 Round Common near Tivets-
 hall Magna
 Rouse Farm near Starston
 *Rowley Corner nr. Hilborough
 Rowley Barn nr. South Picken-
 ham
 Roxham near Fordham
 Roxhill Lane near Watton
 Royal Hill Field nr. Ringland
 Ruberry Hill near Blakeney
 Rudd's Farm nr. L. Fransham

Rull's Hill near Swaffham
 Rush Green near Runhall
 Rutica Barn nr. Wood Dalling
 Rye Hill near Marlingford

*Saham Weights
 *St. Catherine's Cross near
 Ashby
 Sallow Bridge near Bunwell
 *Sand Hole near West Caister
 Sankins near Aylsham
 Scales How Bank near West
 Lynn
 Scarrow Bridge near Calthorpe
 Scotgate near Great Hockham
 *Scotland Common nr. Stratton
 Strawless
 Scott Mere near E. Wretham
 Soddall's Marsh near Newton
 Flotman
 Sennowe Lodge near Guist
 Seven Hills near Rushford
 Sexton Green near Bedingham
 Shadwell near Brettenham
 Shakers' Gravel Pit near
 Waterden
 Shallam Dyke near Repps'
 Marsh
 Sharp Street near Irstead
 Sharpe's Hall near Horsford
 Sheets Hill near Stoke Holy
 Cross
 Sherrard's Green near Attle-
 borough
 Shickle's Barn nr. South Repps
 Shippy Gate Green nr. Tilney
 Short Trees near Roydon
 Shotford Bridge nr. Harleston
 Shuckforth's Tomb nr. Saham
 Shuck's Lane
 Skelding Hall nr. Sheringham
 Skeyton Beck nr. Felmingham
 *Skinniford near Honing
 Skytes' Hill near Cromer
 Silver Geen near Topcroft

Silvergate Street nr. Blickling
 Silverland Hill near Salhouse
 Simon Willows Fen nr. Honing
 Simonds Lode nr. Wiggshall
 Magdalen
 *Skait's Mere Farm near
 Needham
 Skelding Hill nr. Sheringham
 *Slender Bone Farm near
 Heigham by Norwich
 Slut's Hole Lane nr. Besthorpe
 Smallworth near Garboldisham
 *Smithfield Bridge, near Reep-
 ham
 Smith's Hurn Grove nr. Thur-
 garton
 Smuggler's Grove near South
 Repps
 Snail's Pit Farm nr. Swaffham
 Snakewood Plantation near
 Mundford
 Snalgates Lane near Alburgh
 *Snape Grove near Stockton
 Snolling's Dam Car nr. Aldeby
 Snore Hill near Fordham
 Snow Hill near Baconsthorpe
 *Solom Pit near Thurston
 Southwater Marsh near Rock-
 land St. Mary
 Southwood Hall nr. Freethorpe
 *Sow Moor near Grimston
 Sow's Head Spong nr. Grimston
 Sparham Green near Necton
 Sparrow Green nr. Gressenhall
 Sparrow Hill near Merton
 Sparrow Hill Plantation near
 Morston
 Spittle's Wood near Thwaite
 *Split Spring Ford by Caister
 St. Edmund's
 Spong Farm near Cantley
 Spong Hill near Beetley
 Sprat's Hall near Aylsham
 Spratt's Hill near Runton
 Spring Bank near Bastwick

Sprow's Pits near Swardeston
 *Squeel Grove near Ravening-
 ham
 *Stack's Ford near Wilby
 Stake Bridge near Skeyton
 Stanch near Thetford
 Stanfield Hall nr. Wymondham
 Stanton Heath nr. East Dere-
 ham
 Stephen's Green nr. Hockering
 *Stibbage Hill near Holt
 Stibbard Hill near Holt
 Stone Hill near Cromer
 Stone Hills Farm nr. Heigham
 Stonehouse Heath near West
 Harling
 Storey's Hill near Cromer
 Stow Heath near Tuttington
 *Stow Hill Farm nr. Mundesley
 *Stubbs' Green near Aldeby
 Stubbs' Green near Loddon
 Stubbs' Green nr. Shotesham
 Stump Cross near Gresham
 *Stump Cross near Langley
 Stump Cross nr. N. Walsham
 Suckling Drove near Outwell
 *Sugar Fen near Grimston
 Warren
 Summerfield, formerly South-
 mere
 Summer Green nr. Hindring-
 ham
 Summer Green near Pulham
 St. Mary
 Sunderland near Southmere
 *Suttle House and Mill near
 Stanfield
 *Swagate Lane near Seething
 Swangey Brecks nr. Hargham
 Swan Hill Plantation near
 Sall
 Swan's Lodge near Kelling
 Swanton's Hill nr. Westwick
 Swasgate Road near Tibenham
 Swift's Grove near Felbrigg

*Tanmoor Common nr. Attle-
 borough
 *Territt Hill near East Winch
 Thickthorn near Hethersett
 *Thieves' Lane near Ellingham
 Parva
 *Thieves' Brake, Cross, and
 Lane, near South Runcton
 Thorn Clumps, Holkham Park
 Thornton's Lodge nr. Wiggem-
 hall St. Mary
 Thorpe near East Wretham
 Thorpe Green nr. Brettenham
 *Thorpeland Grove nr. Faken-
 ham
 *Thorpe House near Bridgham
 *Thorpe House near Wretham
 Thorpe (Gt.) Heath near East
 Wretham
 Thorpe Row near Shipdham
 Three-hole Bridge nr. Upwell
 Thrift Green near Moulton
 Thurtell's Car nr. Poringland
 Tiffey River runs through
 Wymondham
 *Tindall Wood, Hall, and
 Barn, near Broome
 Tink's Grove near Carleton
 St. Peter
 Titkill Bridge near Emneth
 *Toftwood Common nr. West-
 field
 Toftwood Grove nr. Westfield
 Tollands near Ingworth
 *Tollar's Lane nr. Whinburgh
 *Torngate Farm near North
 Walsham
 *Tubgate near Hedenham
 Tulip Hill near Newton
 Tumber's Wood near Should-
 ham Thorpe
 Tun Green near Tilney
 Turkey Row near Hempnall
 Green
 Tuttle Mill near Stanfield

Tutt's Hill near Kilverstone
 Tyler's Hill near Sizeland
 *Tyne Common near Great
 Hautboys

Tyrrell's Wood nr. Hardwick

Uagate near Alderford
 Uagate Street nr. New Bucken-
 ham

Uphall near Ashill

Vauncey's Farm near Pulham
 St. Mary
 Venny near Denver Fen

Wade's Beck Bridge near
 Thursford

Walcot Green near Diss

Walsey Hills near Cley

Warborough Hill near Stiffkey

*Wash Lane near Wacton

Washingford Mill near Bergh
 Apton

Watch Hill near N. Walsham
 Waterdown Green nr. Walpole
 St. Peter

Wayford Bridge nr. Dilham

Weayling House near Bawsey

*Well Beck, the, near Brooke

*Welbury Hill nr. Sheringham

Wellmere near Beachamwell

Wells Green nr. Little Dunham

Westby Green near Diss

West Head near Wallington

West Mere near E. Wretham

West Mere Pit nr. Tottington

Wheatley Dyke nr. Walsoken

Whey Curd Farm nr. Wighton

Whimpwell Green and Street
 near Happisburgh

Whin Common near Kelling

Whincroft near East Ruston

White Bridge near Shropham

White Bridges near Stiffkey

White Dyke near Feltwell

White Hall near Syderstone

White Hall near Watton

White Horse Common near
 North Walsham

White Ollands near Cawston

Whiteford Hall near Dunston

Whitwell Hall near Skepton

Wicken near Stanfield

Wickend near Syderstone

*Wiffle Green near Melton
 Magna

*Wigmore Farm nr. Hickling

Wildman Cover nr. Kimberley

*Wilde Burrs near Aldeby

*Willed Barn nr. Saxlingham

Wilney Green near Fersfield

*Wilted Cross nr. Saxlingham

Winchester Hills near Newton

Windale Hills nr. Gillingham

Winmore Hill near Hickling

Winspurs near Roughton

*Winson Cottage near Gilling-
 ham

Winston Hall near Gillingham

Winter's Grove near Topcroft

Withergate near Worstead

Witton Green near Reedham

Woeful Green, Skepton

Wolverton Place near Sporle

Womack Broad near Ludham

Woman Hithe near Runtun

Wood Bridge nr. Field Dalling

Woodcock Hall near East
 Wretham

Woodgate near Aylsham

Woodgate Pit near Swaffham

Woodhouse near Thursford

Wood Street near Ludham

*Woodrow Lane, Corpusty

*Woofred Green House near
 Shotesham

Wool Grove, Wolterton

Woolly Bushes near Saham
 Woolsey Farm near Kirby
 Bedon
 Woolsey's Bridge nr. Aylsham
 World's End near Sall

*Worley House nr. Babingley
 Wortwell near Redenhall
 Wryneck Mill nr. Denver Fen
 Yallops near Palling

Not the least use to which a close index of the names of hamlets, farms, and other localities, not included in any gazetteer, may be put, will be in tracing the extent of Norsk and other settlements by their place-names.

At p. 184 of vol. i. I gave the names of one hundred and sixty-four³ places in Norfolk *primâ facie* of Danish origin, *e.g.*, having the terminations by, oe and hoe, toft, thorp, wick, thwaite, holm, haugh, strand, and sett.

The compilation of this list has enabled me to add thirty-nine more, viz. :—

By—

Ashby Mere Plantation
 Iybey near Wood Dalling
 Kirby Hill near Overstrand
 Westby Green near Diss

Oe—

Carrow
 Darrow near Alburgh
 Darrow near Shelfhanger
 Farrow Street nr. Ditchingham
 How Hill
 Lascoe Plantation
 Marrow Hill
 Mill Hoe
 Pristow Green nr. Tibenham
 Sallow Bridge
 Scarrow Bridge
 Sennowe Lodge

Toft—

Toftwood Common

Thorpe—

Algarsthorpe nr. Bawburgh
 Banthorpe Hall
 Blackthorpe Farm
 Custhorpe near Westacre
 Folthorp Manor near Wickingham
 Halthorp near Hingham
 Thorpeland Grove near Fakenham
 Thorpe House near Bridgham
 Thorpe Green near Brettenham
 Thorpland, Wallington
 Thorpland Hall, Fakenham
 Thorp Row near Shipdham

³ The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his *Words and Places*, estimated them "at about fifty"!

Wick—

Balwick near Marsham
 Cakewick nr. Wymondham
 Dudwick House
 Kenwick near Clenchwarton

Thwaite—

Thwaite near Aylsham

Haugh—

Banham Haugh near Buck-
 enham
 Belhough
 Ilaw Hill near Dereham
 Micklehaugh
 Strumpshaw

Some of the more noticeable of the other names are, *Loggan Hill*, *Barrows*, *Barrow Common* and *Barrow Hill*, *Bunn's Bank* and *Beacon Hill* (2), all suggestive of long past times; while the numerous *Stump Crosses*, *Holy Cross Hill*, and *Procession Meer Lane* near Old Walsingham, are no doubt traces of the Catholics. *Bugg's Grave* may be older than it seems, as may be *Pig's Grave*, *Deadman's Grave*, and *Shuckforth's Tomb*. Of the evil one we are reminded by *Devil's Bottom*, *Devil's Ditch*, *Devil's Dyke*, *Devil's Punch Bowl*, *Hell Lane*, and *Hell's Mere*; and of his works by *Blood Hills*, *Blood's Dale Lane*, *Thieves' Brake*, *Thieves' Cross*, *Thieves' Lane*, *Robbers' Nursery*, *Smugglers' Grove*, and *Woeful Green*; while their results are foreshadowed by *Galley* or *Gallowshill*. As in *Bigod's Wood* and *Howard's Hill*, we sometimes get a glimpse of the old owners of the land, but a large proportion of the names are clearly jocular, such as *Puddingpoke Barn*, *Needless Barn*, *Slender Bone Farm*, *Snail's Pit Farm*, *Whey Curd Farm*, *Wryneck Mill*, *Shakers' Gravel Pit*, *Drunken Drove*, *Jack Bell's Grove*, *Jealous Wells' Farm*, *Marrowbone Hall*, *Crabb's Castle*, *Barge Tubs*, *Sow's Head Spong*, &c.

It is noteworthy there is another *Rotten Row*. For the derivations or meanings of *Rutica Barn* and *Hexicus Lane* I wait in vain.

Norfolk Antiquarian Current Literature.

THE more important works issued since the commencement of this work are :—

(1) *MEMORIALS OF THE HURRY FAMILY*, by C. J. Palmer. Printed for private circulation. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1873.

(2) *LETTERS OF HENRY WALPOLE*, S. J. Edited by Dr. Jessopp for the Hon. F. Walpole. Printed for private circulation. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1873.

(3) *THE CHURCH BELLS OF NORFOLK*, by the late John L'Estrange. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1874, royal 8vo. Published by subscription, and most decidedly the best work on English campanology yet printed.

(4) *PALGRAVE FAMILY MEMORIALS*, by Charles John Palmer and Stephen Tucker (Rouge Croix). Printed for private circulation only. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1878. A beautifully illustrated and unusually truthful family history, with no concocted descents.

(5) *THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES ON THE ROOF OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL*, by Dean Goulburn and the Rev. H. Symonds, M.A., and a *HISTORY OF THE SEE OF NORWICH*, by Dean Goulburn and Mr. E. Hailstone. Stacy, Norwich, 1876. A handsome volume, which will always fetch a good price for its admirable illustrations. The letterpress is worse than useless.

(6) *THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF BISHOP HERBERT DE LOZINGA*, by Dean Goulburn. This work is not illustrated.

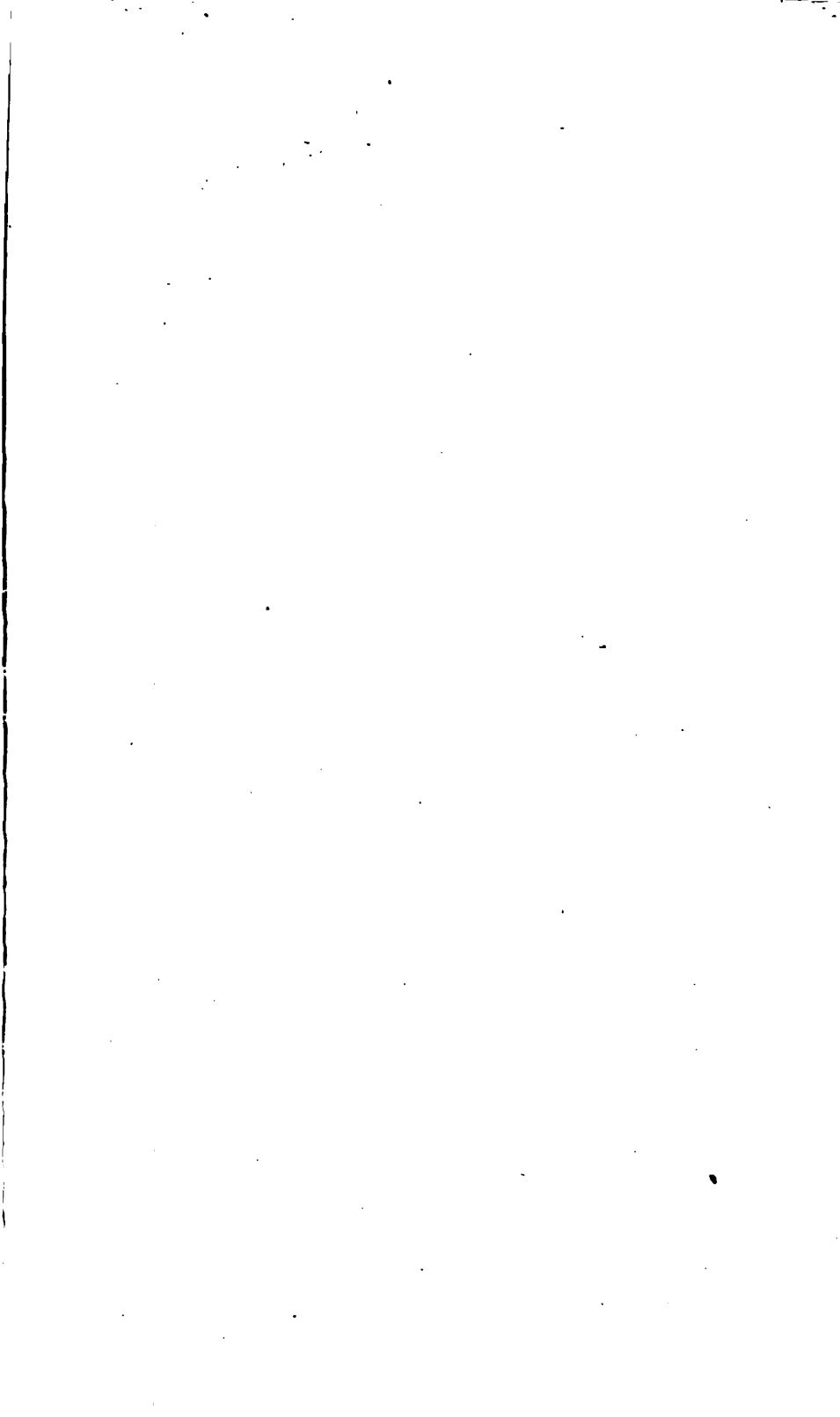
(7) *ONE GENERATION OF A NORFOLK HOUSE [Walpole]*. A Contribution to Elizabethan History. By Augustus Jessopp, D.D. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1878. This very valuable work attained the high distinction of a second edition the following year, a thing almost unheard of in antiquarian literature.

(8) *VISITATION OF NORFOLK IN 1563*, from Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by the Rev. G. H. Dashwood, F.S.A., and continued by Capt. W. E. G. L. Bulwer, G. A. Carthew, Esq., F.S.A., Rev. W. Grigson, M.A., and the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D., for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, vol. i. Miller and Leavins, 1878.

(9) *NORFOLK ARCHÆOLOGY* [Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society], vol. viii., 1874—1879. The best papers are those on the Heraldry of Norwich Cathedral, by the Rev. C. J. Evans, M.A.; on Sealed Altar Slabs, by the Rev. W. H. Sewell, M.A.; on the Stapletons of Ingham, by the Rev. J. Lee-Warner; on Roman Discoveries at Ashill, by Mr. Thomas Barton; and on Herbert de Lozinga, by Mr. E. M. Beloe; the last especially being an admirable paper. Dr. Jessopp's Bowthorpe Hall is sketchy, but Mrs. Jones' various papers are sketchier still, and the Transactions of a County Archaeological Society should not be filled by incorrect reproductions of Blomefield. With a balance of £369. 7s. 2d. on their last account, it seems a great pity this Society does not spend a little more in printing unpublished matter, say the earliest Norfolk Subsidy Roll, which would be of the greatest value alike to topographer and genealogist. It ought not, moreover, to take six years to bring out a volume of Transactions.

(10) *THE HUNDRED OF LAUNDITCH AND DEANERY OF BRISLEY*, by G. A. Carthew. Miller and Leavins, Norwich, 1877—1880. The most complete history of any Hundred that has yet been printed—the result of a lifelong labour of a most competent man.

(11) *THE PERLUSTRATION OF GREAT YARMOUTH*, by C. J. Palmer. Another most complete and valuable work, admirably illustrated.



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